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MAY 17, 1976

®

# Republican Rumble



# The 60-second



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for the  
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# masterpiece.



**You never got  
this much yellow before  
in 60 seconds.**

**Or whites this white.**

**Or this much red.**

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Special metallized dyes (the same dyes we developed for our SX-70 film) now give your 60-second pictures an amazing brilliance—more red, more blue, more yellow, more green than you

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# What will it take to make jobs for your children?

We need to get unemployed people back onto business payrolls—and the sooner the better. Right now, America needs millions of jobs.

But there's also the challenge of a growing work force—young people reaching working age, and others entering the job market. Your children and ours. That work force will grow by at least 1½ million every year from now through 1980.

What will it take to create new jobs for them?

**Money.** The huge sums of money (investment capital) companies need to upgrade and expand their facilities. It's those facilities that, when business picks up, maintain jobs and create new ones. How much money's needed? The average investment to create a single new job opportunity in manufacturing is around \$25,000 today. It will be at least \$35,000 in 1980.

That multiplies out to \$37½ billion in capital investment today to create 1½ million new jobs. By 1980, it will take an investment of \$52½ billion.

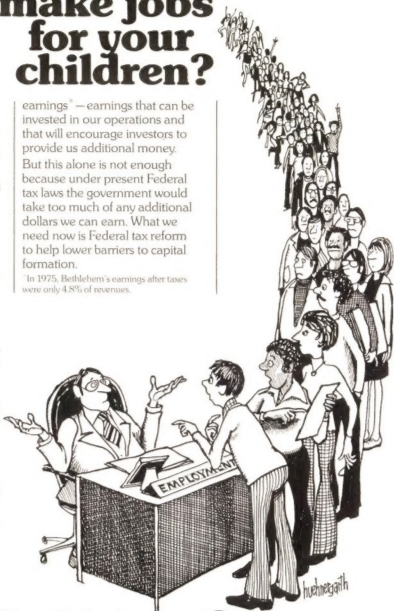
*Where will that money come from?*

The key to getting the money we need for expansion and improvement of our plants is better

earnings—earnings that can be invested in our operations and that will encourage investors to provide us additional money.

But this alone is not enough because under present Federal tax laws the government would take too much of any additional dollars we can earn. What we need now is Federal tax reform to help lower barriers to capital formation.

In 1975, Bethlehem's earnings after taxes were only 4.8% of revenues.



## Bethlehem



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The tax-writing committees of the U.S. Congress are studying the subject of "Capital Formation."

Here are four tax measures which we believe the Congress should enact to encourage industrial expansion and to create jobs:

(1) five-year capital recovery system, (2) 12% permanent investment tax credit, (3) write-off of the

costs of pollution control facilities in the year they are incurred, (4) eliminate the double taxation of corporate profits paid out as dividends.

If you agree that revisions in present Federal tax laws are needed to provide the additional capital for more and better jobs, we ask you to tell that to your

Senators and Congressman.

For a free copy of the folder, "Project Mainspring—with your help it can wind up the American economy again," write: Public Affairs Dept., Room 476-T, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Bethlehem, PA 18016.

## Take Me Out to the Ball Game

To the Editors:

Babe Ruth and Yankee Stadium symbolize the all-time greats of the national game [April 26]. Babe Ruth started his career as a pitcher, but in the American League today pitchers never come to bat. This great talent would never have been discovered today. Let's get rid of that "designated hitter" rule and a new great batting talent might be discovered.

Charles F. Post  
Pacific Grove, Calif.

Every time a batter gets a hit off Andy Messersmith or any other million-dollar pitcher, he should be given a raise



simply because a million-dollar pitcher should be unhittable.

Sunil Thomas  
Queens, N.Y.

I applaud your return to coverage of the finer entertainments in life.

Christine Childers  
St. Louis, Mo.

When Tom Seaver bared his muscle, the Mets may have winced, but I bet millions of TIME's female readers swooned. More! More!

Kathe Anderson  
Washington, D.C.

Having called their favorite sport the "Summer Game," baseball fans may find it surprising to learn that Alaska has more than its fair share of fanatics and has produced more than its share of talent.

One of the lead characters in your article, Tom Seaver, is a graduate of the Fairbanks semipro team, the Gold Panners, and this year's first major league draft choice, Steve Garvey, played for Fairbanks for the past two seasons. In all, nearly 40 major leaguers have played

for the Panners. The Fairbanks team won the National Baseball Congress championship in '72, '73 and '74, and nearly repeated in 1975 before being nosed out by those archrivals from the "Deep South," the Anchorage Glacier-Pilots.

Larry Gedney  
Ester, Alaska

### Million-Dollar Manager

It looks like Mr. Hughes' take-home average was more than \$3.6 million a month during his working years [April 19]. By what standard do they suddenly decide that he was a lousy manager?

Bernard Mahon  
Rockville, Md.

Howard Hughes trucked his HK-1 flying boat (in pieces) to Long Beach Harbor, assembled it in a graving dock in Long Beach Harbor and flew the *Spruce Goose* in 1947, again in Long Beach Harbor—not Los Angeles Harbor, as your captions twice incorrectly indicate.

The *Spruce Goose* has been stored, and maintained, in a huge hangar in the Port of Long Beach ever since that time.

Elmer Baxter  
Director of Public Relations  
The Port of Long Beach  
Long Beach, Calif.

### Crimes and Criminals

Wilson's Essay "Crime and Punishment" [April 26] is typical of the shallow analysis and rhetoric so popular with armchair criminologists. Those crimes most damaging to our society, corporate, white-collar, governmental and organized crimes, are conveniently ignored. The real criminals are not, as Wilson would have us believe, burglars, thieves, or those who have otherwise developed "deformed personalities." The real criminals are those who have manipulated the growing interpenetration of the political and economic spheres of our society.

Discussing crime in America in terms of fornication laws, Yale locks, and "unrelated roustabouts looking for fun and profit" is simplistic and misleading.

Ivar O. Paur, Coordinator  
Institute of Public and Urban Affairs  
San Diego

### Question for Henry

Criticizing and badgering the Communists in Italy [April 26] can only result in one thing: alienation of the Italians. There is some doubt whether the

Italian Communists are allied with the Kremlin, but to expel Italy from NATO and the Common Market would force them to seek aid from the Soviet Union. Why play into Russia's hands, Henry? Italy might turn out to be the Yugoslavia of Southern Europe rather than the Cuba of the Mediterranean.

Guy Reel  
Kingsport, Tenn.

I cannot understand the fear in the Western world over Italy's becoming a Communist state. World Communism would be erased from the earth within two decades. Italians make the best saints, poets, gangsters and artists; they make very poor politicians and soldiers.

I am very proud of my heritage but I think it is what the U.S. recognized Italy for while it is—our best "secret weapon."

Frank G. DeGiacomo  
Colorado Springs, Colo.

### Not an Adviser

You say that "Ball ... is advising Democratic Presidential Candidate Henry Jackson [April 26]." That is not correct. I am not advising any of the presidential candidates.

George W. Ball  
New York City

### Elective Education

It should come as no surprise that none of the 23 prospective Milwaukee jurors knew anything about the Nazis or their atrocities in World War II [April 26]. This is the predictable result of school systems that replace the required study of history with trashy courses in "social studies" and emphasize electives in such trendy subjects as consumerism and witchcraft.

Gerald H. Early  
Major, U.S.A.  
Fort Bragg, N.C.

### Rate War

The troubled airlines of the nation, already losing \$110 million, will face even greater storms if the Government's plan for deregulation is approved [April 19]. Sure, fares will go down in the rate battle that will ensue, but so will the airlines. We will end up with an incredible array of fly-by-nights offering "cheapies," until eventually all carriers go under, and then the country will be left the single alternative of a nationalized airline.

J. Merrick Fowler  
Vice President  
Pacific American Airlines  
Tokyo

### A Vote for Silber

The statement that Boston University faculty, stars and incompetents alike, favor John Silber's dismissal

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Model TV 115. Indoor/outdoor portable black and white 11" screen measured diagonally.



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# TALL

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ordinary  
cigarettes



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Filter, 20 mg. "tar", 1.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

### FORUM

[April 26] is false. Whether I qualify as incompetent or star, I am, like many Boston University faculty, strongly in favor of continuing Silber, and against dissident deans and faculty, most of whom have opposed and obstructed every effort to improve the quality of Boston University.

The loss of ten deans would not leave a ripple: Silber's loss would irreparably damage Boston University.

William Arrowsmith  
Professor of Classics  
Boston University  
Boston

### Piercing the Page

*Oh TIME, your bony fingers pierce the page*

*And render voices silent with each jab;*

*You count with one hand tied behind your ear,*

*Ignoring poets many watch and wait for.*

*Allow us one more breath to speak.*

*And then*

*Perhaps we'll rise*

*With Will*

*And sing again.*

*(Do you read me?)*

Grayce Rychards  
Newmarket, N.H.

The statement that "poetry is a prestigious loss-leader on publishers' lists" is quite understandable in view of what passes for poetry today.

There might still be a market for a Robert Burns or a Robert Frost, if one could be found.

James C. Hepler  
Huntingdon Valley, Pa.

### Speedy Pythonophile

Regarding T.E. Kalem's article concerning *Monty Python Live!* [April 26]: What bumblingly inefficient corpsman is responsible for the picture captions? As any Pythonophile could detect with horrifyingly God-awful speed, the young Briton identified as one Neil Innes is none other than charter Python member Michael Palin.

Karen J. Gagliano  
Warminster, Pa.

### What Might Have Been

When I saw *All the President's Men* [March 29] I thought if Germany had had a Bradlee, Woodward and Bernstein—not to forget Sirica—maybe, just maybe, we might have been spared World War II.

America, you are indeed a very unique country.

Mr. & Mrs. R.L. DeFreitas  
Scarborough, Ont., Canada

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

# TALL

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extra puffs.  
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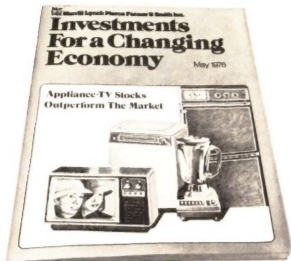


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## AMERICAN NOTES

## Starving the Candidates

When the Supreme Court invalidated the Federal Election Commission, it also threw a lot of presidential candidates into a financial limbo—they were unable to collect after March 22 the matching funds promised by the austere new campaign laws. With their cash-boxes rapidly emptying and no federal money to bail them out, a number of candidates dropped out of active campaigning. With crucial primaries coming up, Ronald Reagan has formally applied for \$557,000 from the FEC but has no way to get at it.

Facing a critical situation, Congress acted characteristically: it dithered over the bill to reactivate the commission, declining even to shorten its 12-day Easter recess, while one candidate after another went broke. Congress finally bestirred itself last week to reconstitute the FEC, but its legislation may still have a way to go before becoming law. Gerald Ford has serious constitutional reservations about the bill—it allows either house of Congress to veto FEC regulations, and that may be an abridgment of executive authority. Ronald Reagan, among others, thinks the bill gives labor too much and business too little influence in campaign financing; as a result, he opposes it, even though he badly needs the funds it would release. At week's end President Ford was still pondering whether to sign or veto the bill. The new delay, of course, did nothing to improve his opponent's condition.

## The Big Snitch

Big Brother, move over. If the self-proclaimed Peoples Bicentennial Commission—currently waging a revolution against Big Business rather than George III—has its way, secretaries will be tattling on corporate executives, and instead of grilling steaks at dinnertime, wives will be grilling their husbands. The kids have not yet been invited to join the big snitch, but wait.

The PBC's first brainstorm along these lines was an offer to pay \$25,000 to any secretary whose boss is imprisoned as a result of her information. Now PBC has sent out 24,000 letters to executives' wives, suggesting that they ask their husbands if they or any colleagues have been involved in criminal activity. To 1,000 wives of the corporate *crème de la crème*, tape cassettes have also been mailed. These tapes carry the voice of PBC Founder Jeremy Rifkin, 32, a Harvard-educated anti-establishmentarian. "Would your husband inform the authorities if he were aware of illegal conduct among friends and associates?" asks Rifkin. "Would you inform the au-

thorities if you uncovered such information? What better time than this evening to start such a discussion?" And, perhaps, to end a marriage?

PBC Co-Chairman Ted Howard concedes that response to the campaign thus far has been minimal. Nonetheless, he adds, "there is discussion around the corporate watercoolers of America like never before." Now, if only those watercoolers could be bugged...

## Heading for Cover

The National Rifle Association, the lobby that has shot down almost all federal gun-control legislation, is planning to move its headquarters out of Washington, D.C. In explaining the shift to a still undisclosed site, N.R.A. President Merrill Wright lists a number of reasons, mostly economic. Crime, he contends, "is far down the line."

But is it, really? In various crimes of violence in Washington since 1974, one of N.R.A.'s lobbyists was shot to death, another employee was shot and wounded, and others have been robbed at gunpoint. Of course, the lobbyists will have to remain in the capital to fight gun control, including a mild ban, recently approved by the House Judiciary Committee, on the manufacture and import of cheap Saturday-night specials.

## Beware the Boom

Few joys are unalloyed any more in an increasingly self-critical age. The cigarette, the fried egg and the bacon, the automobile, the toy with lead-based paint—all have been judged to be as pernicious as they are pleasurable. Now the boom has fallen on the economic boom. Time was when the word connoted something unqualifiedly positive, as in "booming industry" and "boom times." But because a boom all too often leads to inflation and then to bust, Data Resources Inc., an economic consulting firm in Massachusetts, has set up a "DRI Boom Monitor" to alert subscribers when a healthy recovery shows signs of turning into an unsustainable boom.

This early warning system, made possible by computer analysis of a variety of indicators, will take the temperature of every economic advance. DRI President Otto Eckstein, a Harvard professor and member of TIME's Board of Economists, rates the temperature of the current recovery to be near normal, although he notes that optimistic businessmen are scrambling to stock their shelves and supply bottlenecks are beginning to show up. But the question remains whether the boom index will really be able to warn of a dangerously rising temperature before it is already too high to be cooled down.

# Now, the



REPUBLICANS/COVER STORIES

# Republican Rumble

In just seven startling days, Campaign 1976 gyrated wildly. The breakaway surge of Jimmy Carter had transformed the crowded Democratic race into what looked to be a one-man romp the rest of the way. Then an astonishing string of four straight primary victories suddenly revived the near hopeless candidacy of Ronald Reagan, throwing the fight for the Republican nomination into a bruising, free-swinging rumble.

Reversing roles, the party that likes to think of itself as the more orderly and dignified was now in chaos. Would the battered Gerald Ford and the newly confident Reagan cut each other up so badly that Democrat Carter could breeze to the presidency in November? Sensing that possibility, would Republicans eventually reject both men and nominate somebody else, a healer and more likely winner, in Kansas City in July?

The prospect of a convention deadlock was savored by former Texas Governor John Connally, a spellbinding speaker who hankers to be President. But it still seemed unlikely that the Republican delegates, basically the same kind of conservatives who nominated Barry Goldwater in 1964 and only grudgingly accepted Richard Nixon in 1968, would give their nomination to a Democratic turncoat. It seemed far more unlikely that the Republican Convention would move to Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, still a pariah to the party's dominant right wing. Yet Rockefeller will control most of the huge New York delegation (154 delegates, making up 7% of the convention's votes), and he might even be able to determine the outcome. No one knows what he might ask for in return.

**R**eagan, helped by the ballots of frustrated former voters for George Wallace, moved ahead of President Ford last week in firm delegates to the convention, 365 to 294. Sixteen tough primaries lay ahead, including nine in Southern and Western states where Reagan would normally be strong. Ford, though still a shaky favorite to win the nomination in the end, could not even be sure of car-

rying his home state of Michigan on May 18.

The Reagan rebound inspired a most unusual scene in the Cabinet Room of the White House on the agonizing morning after last week's primaries. Ford's face was drawn and haggard as he walked into his regular weekly meeting with Republican congressional leaders. "He's been up late watching the returns," mused one of them. Indeed he had—and the news from Indiana, Georgia and Alabama had all been bad. The legislators rose as they always do, but this time did something unusual: they broke into applause. At a moment when the President was down, they wanted to show their support and affection. Delighted, Ford grinned through his unaccustomed role as a loser.

**T**he session at first seemed to be a mutual pep rally. "Anybody who gets the impression that we're going to quit is crazy as hell," declared Ford. Sounding like Knute Rockne at half time in a Reagan movie, he added, "We're coming out fighting. We'll be there in Kansas City to the end. And we're going to win!" The leaders applauded again.

Spontaneously, Illinois Congressman John Anderson moved "that the joint Senate-House Republican leadership of the Congress stand unwaveringly and unstintingly behind the President and in firm support of his bid for nomination." Texas Senator John Tower seconded the motion. Republican Senate Leader Hugh Scott declared it carried unanimously. No one openly admitted that a President who requires a vote of confidence from his own party's key legislators is in deep trouble. "We all sensed he was a little down in the dumps," Anderson explained later. "We wanted to pick his spirits up."

But the concern of the G.O.P. leaders over Ford's campaign could not be quelled by cheerleading, and soon the discussion turned more serious. "It seems to me that we have to talk rather plainly," said House Republican Leader John Rhodes, who will preside over the G.O.P. National Convention. "I don't relish the idea of the U.S. having the





A SKI CAP IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

But no kisses for babies, no busses for baton twirlers, a cool and professional style.



A HELMET FROM NOTRE DAME



A FIRE CHIEF'S HAT IN FLORIDA

choice of Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan." He went on: "There are issues being bandied around—like the Panama Canal. It didn't help any to have the negotiations resumed three days before the Texas primary. It didn't do any good having [Secretary of State Henry] Kissinger in Africa a week before. We have to develop a new and more responsive strategy." Although Rhodes did not say so at the meeting, he wants Kissinger to announce that he would not be part of a second Ford Administration.

The leaders agreed that the question of future U.S. control over the Panama Canal was a phony issue, no more valid than the argument in the John Kennedy-Richard Nixon race in 1960 over whether the U.S. should have defended the Nationalist Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Rhodes told Ford to stop "chasing this goddam rainbow of the Panama Canal." He meant Ford should stop talking about it.

The legislators urged him to be more "presidential," to stop responding to each Reagan attack and take an "affirmative" and "statesmanlike" stance, emphasizing—as they felt he had failed to do so far—his best issues: peace, economic recovery and the restoration of integrity to the White House. They hinted that he had a lot of lightweightes among his aides, that he needs new speechwriters and stronger staff support. Gently, they warned that he should not shift too far to the right, since there was no way to "out-Reagan Reagan."

With a touch of self-pity, Ford told the leaders: "You'd think we'd get some benefit from what we've done to improve the economy. But people are happy about the economy, and they've got time to talk about these non-issues." Ford was appalled at the possibility of a Reagan presidency. Said a White House aide of Ford: "He is convinced that it would

not be good for the party or the country. So he is going to fight."

In the shaken White House, however, the old talk of a first-ballot nomination was replaced by cold fear that the nomination might be lost. By contrast, Reagan, who had seemed almost embarrassed in victory and downplayed his successes at first, switched tactics. A day after his triple wins, he held a post-midnight meeting with his campaign advisers in a hotel room at Shreveport, La. Explained one of the group:

"Reagan decided it was time to start sounding like a winner. We don't want our modest public expectations to get in the way of what's happening." At planeside in Shreveport the next morning, Reagan for the first time predicted that he may well have "enough delegates to win on the first ballot."

That is a long way from happening. But if it did, Ford would suffer the ignominy of becoming the first President since Republican Chester Alan Arthur in 1884 to seek his party's nomination for a new term and fail to get it. Already he has become the first President to lose multiple primary elections since Republican William Howard Taft lost twelve such contests, nine of them to Theodore Roosevelt, in 1912—yet Taft fought on to win the nomination.

Open, decent and in some ways politically courageous, Ford does not seem to deserve such treatment. He has pursued détente, an agreement on strategic nuclear weapons and the Panama Canal negotiations—all basically sound positions—in the face of Reagan's harsh attacks. Last month Ford, an advocate of free trade, refused to give special protection to the domestic shoe industry against foreign competition, despite heavy pressure from the industry's political friends on Capitol Hill.

The rise of Reagan, the spectacular triumph of Carter and the unpredictabil-

ity of so many of the primaries have undermined the confidence of the political professionals in detecting just what is happening in this volatile election year. Clearly, the voters are in an independent, anti-Washington mood, and they are voting for "outsiders" who are not tainted by politics as usual. Endorsements by top political leaders have meant little. Labor leaders have failed to deliver their rank-and-file votes. The winning candidates are sweeping across voting blocs whether by age, income or ethnic background. Voters, it seems, are rebelling against something.

Carter in a big way and Reagan with increasing skill seem to have found a means to ride the currents running in the land. To be sure, the Reagan surge has largely taken place on congenial, conservative territory. Yet in the May 1 Texas primary, his smashing shutout of Ford (96 delegates to 0) defied any simple ideological analysis. Normally, Ford should have been able to win at least some of the state's more liberal districts in Dallas and Austin. Reagan's three victories last week were also impressive. **SUMMARIES**

**INDIANA.** A surprising 624,032 voters cast ballots in the Republican primary—the highest G.O.P. total ever in that state. They gave Reagan an upset 51%-to-49% victory and 45 delegates to Ford's nine. This was despite the fact that nearly all of the state's well-organized Republican machine was behind Ford, including Governor Otis Bowen and 95% of all the county chairmen. Ford workers made more than 150,000 telephone calls to get out votes for the President on the basis of these calls; his organization had expected that Ford would net about 59% of the total.

**GEORGIA.** Ford had virtually conceded the state to Reagan, since Georgia's Republicans are attuned to Reagan's brand of conservatism. The President made only one half-day trip to Atlanta suburbs. Reagan spent two days

Actually the negotiations had not resumed at that time. Ambassador-at-Large Philip H. Barker had made a preparatory visit to Panama.





A BASEBALL CAP IN DALLAS

On an agonizing morning after triple defeats, an unusual vote of confidence in the Cabinet Room.



A WESTERN STETSON IN EL PASO



A PANAMA HAT IN WASHINGTON

in the state. Yet Reagan's 68%-to-32% swamping of Ford and his capture of all 48 delegates proved a worse drubbing than the White House had foreseen.

**ALABAMA.** In George Wallace's home state, no profound analysis of Reagan's victory was necessary. He captured all 37 delegates. The Alabama G.O.P. is even more conservative than are Wallace's Democrats. Cross-over voting of such Democrats aided Reagan, although Ford had no chance anyway.

More than just cross-over voting upset the politicians' calculations in these primaries. Thousands of independents, who usually shun the primaries of both parties, jumped into the Republican battle, since that suddenly was where the action was. Yet the voting by Democrats in the G.O.P. contests posed a more difficult problem for Ford's strategists. Indeed, there is no effective way to stop it from happening elsewhere.

Reagan and his workers have openly courted this vote, angering regular Republican leaders and other Ford backers. The huge Indiana G.O.P. vote indicated that as many as 53,000 Democrats and independents may have opted for the more exciting Republican race. Without cross-overs, Reagan would not have carried Indiana, and this vote was also decisive for him in Georgia. Democrats in the state who had given Wallace a whopping 535,550 votes in the 1968 general election, for example, this year cast only 60,000 votes for George; many of those former Wallace voters went to Reagan.

Reagan's pitch to disenchanted Democrats has been sophisticated. He says he is seeking to forge "a new majority" of Republicans, Democrats and independents and wants to give Wallace-leaning Democrats "something to vote for, not against." In Parkersburg, W. Va., last week, several posters at a Reagan rally urged: VOTE REPUBLICANS—WALLACE AND REAGAN. In now critical Michigan, Ford has never

run for statewide office, and Reagan's campaign director, State Senator John Welborn, is appealing openly for Democratic votes. Michigan Republican Chairman William McLaughlin is "shocked, stunned and damned angry" by this pitch for cross-overs, adding "It's going to destroy the two-party system, and it will destroy the Republican Party if this continues to happen."

**R**ogers Morton, Ford's national campaign director, blamed cross-over voting for the President's loss in Indiana but admitted he did not know what to do about it in future primaries. The more suspicious presidential aides claimed that not only were Wallace workers giving voting lists to Reagan's staff, but in some caucus states, liberal Democrats were even packing G.O.P. meetings to back Reagan, who they think will be easier to beat than Ford in November. Citing busloads of new faces at precinct meetings in New Mexico, a White House aide asked "Is it an effort to ensure that Reagan is the Democrats' opponent?" Reagan's aides denied chicanery.

Many Democrats, of course, were chuckling over the Ford quandary. For years, Republicans had crossed over to vote for Wallace in Democratic primaries and thus embarrass the regular Democratic candidates. Now, since Carter had knocked out Wallace, the netlesome Alabama Governor had become a migraine for Ford.

To credit Wallaceite Democrats with Reagan's new-found success, however, would be a gross exaggeration. With a few exceptions, Reagan had been pushing the unelected President hard all along the primary trail. If the former California Governor's aides had not forecast a substantial victory over Ford in the opening New Hampshire primary, Reagan's 49% of the vote would have seemed a real jolt to the President. Unsure of the issues and on the defensive

because of his promise to cut the federal budget by \$90 billion and his ill-defined proposals for reforming Social Security financing, Reagan failed at first to attack Ford effectively. He took an expected trouncing in Massachusetts, a potentially fatal one in Florida, and was overpowered in Illinois.

Reagan aides now concede privately that despite his repeated vow to plunge on right through to the convention, he seriously considered folding up his candidacy before the North Carolina primary on March 23. Ford's strategists had none too subtly urged him to do so. That was a mistake; it served only to stiffen Reagan's resolve. The North Carolina election is now viewed by the Reagan staff as the most critical point in his campaign. Ford's aides admit that they goosed by not working hard enough there. But Reagan fought on, dropping the "Eleventh Commandment" (Thou shalt not smite a fellow Republican) and assailing Ford sharply on foreign policy. And he won, 52% to 46%, stemming the tide of losses.

That win gave Reagan new confidence—and brought him a mysterious telegram that read "Congratulations. You certainly fooled the pollsters, Dick." No one knew whether it was from the former President or a prank, but Reagan quickly crumpled it to keep anyone from asking. He then made such a fuss over not being allowed to buy prime television time that NBC yielded, and Reagan's nationwide half-hour speech on March 31 laid out his new themes of attacking Secretary Kissinger, détente and U.S. military preparedness (see following stories). The speech netted \$1 million in contributions.

Reagan also exploited what hardly had been a burning issue until he picked it up: U.S. control of the Panama Canal. He started blasting the fact that both the Nixon and Ford Administrations had been negotiating a new treaty with Panama on the canal and its ten-

## THE NATION

mile-wide zone, which the U.S. secured under gunboat pressure in 1903. Sensibly, Ford is willing to yield outright domination of the canal, but the move would be gradual and not completed until the next century (TIME, April 26). Even then, according to the Ford-Kissinger position, the U.S. would retain passage rights, share operational duties, and help defend the canal.

Repeatedly and erroneously, Reagan has insisted that the Canal Zone is "just as much sovereign U.S. territory as Alaska." In fact, no treaty ever granted the U.S. complete sovereignty. Washington has been paying an annual user fee of \$2.3 million to Panama, and that country's General Omar Torrijos Herrera, a military dictator, has been maneuvering to restrain outraged Panamanians from rioting over this vestige of Yankee imperialism. Wrong-headed as it is, Reagan's jingoism on the canal has apparently struck a nerve among parts

gan's following grew. His acting experience served him well. He was punnier, funnier, more dramatic than Ford, yet at the same time he seemed cooler, more professional and dignified than the President. Unlike Ford, he usually refused to kiss babies or buss baton twirlers. Last week in Nebraska and Louisiana, he stood back as enthusiasts held up infants for a smooch, explaining: "I come in contact with so many people in the course of a day, and there are so many strange bugs going around." Grouched a disappointed father in Shreveport: "Damn. The kid has already had all those bugs, but he's never been kissed by a presidential candidate."

The often aloof Reagan also passes up many waiting crowds. In Fort Wayne, Ind., he rushed past a cheering group of well-wishers. "We've been waiting 20 minutes in the freezing cold," complained one woman. Reagan pointed to his wristwatch to indicate he was

"There has been talk about a single six-year sentence—er, term." When the laughter died down, he said: "You can see I have no illusions about the job."

Reagan's more serious formal lines are also delivered with well-timed zip.

**ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING:** "The Government in Washington is spending some \$7 million every minute I talk to you." There's no connection between my talking and their spending, and if they'll stop spending, I'll stop talking."

**ON NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE:** "I'm ag'in it. I don't think you can socialize the doctor without socializing the patient."

**ON WASHINGTON:** "I don't believe Washington is the answer. I think Washington is the problem. Big Government makes small people, and what we need is big people making Government smaller."

The Reagan crowds respond readily to his smooth style. Ford, on the other hand, often gets a rousing reception when introduced as the President, but audiences lose enthusiasm as he reads his speeches—actually more thoughtful and more varied than Reagan's standard pitch. Ford is more effective when he ad-libs or answers questions from reporters or audiences. But that poses a problem. The questions are often on points Reagan has raised—which lets his opponent control much of the campaign dialogue. The current Ford strategy is to curtail such questioning and keep his speeches shorter and sharper. At the urging of his young photographer, David Kennerly, he has even hired Don Penney, a New York show-business gag-writer, to turn out jokes and witty lines. He intends to largely ignore Reagan, while various "advocates"—Cabinet members and friendly Congressmen—take more direct aim at the challenger. They intend to portray Reagan as an extremist on domestic issues and as dangerous in world affairs.

Will a more "presidential" Ford do better? In and out of the party, most analysts still reckon that Ford will recover enough to win the nomination—but they know the fight will continue to be messy, and probably debilitating to the G.O.P. Said a top Colorado Republican official: "After this week's primaries, everybody is either bleeding or smelling blood." California Republican Chairman Paul Haerle recalls waking up at night with the thought: "My God, what did we do to deserve this? Are the fates punishing us for Richard Nixon?" With sadness, one veteran Midwestern Republican leader observes, "What a time we're in. Here we have peace, and the economy is doing very well, and there's the President hanging on the ropes."

Reagan supporters, of course, see it differently. Dr. Dennis J. Nicholas, Reagan's campaign manager in Indiana,

\*Reagan seems to have misplaced a decimal point. If the U.S. had been spending at a rate of \$7 million a minute, the federal budget would be \$3.68 trillion. The actual spending rate is closer to \$700,000 a minute.

## DELEGATE SCORECARD

(THROUGH MAY 7)

### REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

Reagan	365
Ford	294
Uncommitted*	310
<b>Total to date</b>	<b>969</b>
<b>Yet to be chosen</b>	<b>1,290</b>

\*Most uncommitted delegates are thought to support Ford

### DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

Carter	610
Jackson	232
Udall	193
Wallace	144
Others	80
Uncommitted*	559
<b>Total to date</b>	<b>1,818</b>
<b>Yet to be chosen</b>	<b>1,190</b>

\*Includes favorite sons

TIME Chart by P.J. Pugliese

of the electorate, arousing post-Viet Nam sentiments that the U.S. should not be pushed around in its own hemisphere by, in Reagan's words, "a tinhorn dictator." Insists Reagan: "The Latin American countries have a respect for *macho*. I think if the United States reacts with firmness and fairness, we might not earn their love, but we would earn their respect."

**D**espite his lack of experience in foreign affairs, Reagan feels capable of bringing similar toughness into effective dealings with the Soviet Union. He concedes that "it may sound rather ridiculous as a comparison," but claims that his experience as negotiator for the Screen Actors Guild in Hollywood's earlier days ("I sat opposite some rather opinionated figures there, the old robber barons who created the picture business") prepares him for bargaining with world leaders.

As he hammered at his issues, Rea-

running late—but he actually was on schedule. In his chartered yellow Hughes Airwest DC-9 (nicknamed the Big Banana), he rarely loosens his necktie or takes off his suit coat.

Once the houselights go on and Reagan faces a crowd, however, he is all charm and good humor. Given an old football helmet last week at the University of Notre Dame (where red, white and blue banners proclaimed WELCOME BACK GIPPER). Reagan turned the event into a neat jab at his opponent: "When I played football, I wore one." He disarmed an audience there hostile to his stand against legalizing marijuana, arguing that marijuana is the successor to alcohol as "the crutch" of the younger generation, adding: "But wouldn't it be nice if some time there was a generation that didn't need any crutch at all." His young audience burst into cheers. Reagan can twist even a flub into a recovering quip. Asked if a President's term should be limited, he stumbled:

# Why the full-size Chevrolet is the smallest car many people want.

It's simple. People want the ride, roominess, comfort and towing ability . . . things as much a part of the car as the Chevy name up front. Many buyers also mention an intangible called peace of mind. They just plain feel better about being in a full-size Chevrolet.

**Still America's most popular car.** Chevrolet has been outselling every other full-size car for years. In 1975, in spite of strong emphasis on smaller cars, the American public bought over 400,000 new full-size Chevrolets.

And we expect an even better year in '76.

## **still America's roomiest car.**

According to the 1976 Roominess Index (a tabulation of head, leg and shoulder room plus front seat height) just published by *Automotive Industries*, we again have the roomiest sedan in the U.S.A. A sedan, we might add, with over 18 cubic feet of trunk space.

## **still priced like a Chevrolet.**

Our full-size models for '76 aren't priced much higher than similarly equipped smaller cars. And they're priced appreciably lower than all



*The traditional beauty and comfort of Caprice's Body by Fisher interior enhanced by an available \$90.50 split front seat.*



Chevrolet Caprice Classic Sport Sedan



full-size cars from our nearest six sales competitors (based on Manufacturers' Suggested Retail Prices for base models).

## **Not just a full-size car.**

**A full-size bargain.** If you think a full-size Chevrolet is the smallest car you want, we can understand that. And so will your Chevy dealer. See his selection of 1976 Impala and Caprice models soon.



# Why is Tareyton better? Others remove.

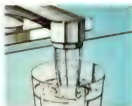
## Tareyton improves.

### The Reason is Activated Charcoal

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency recently reported that granular activated carbon (charcoal) is the best available method for filtering water.

As a matter of fact, many cities across the United States have instituted charcoal filtration systems for their drinking water supplies.

The evidence is mounting that activated charcoal does indeed improve the taste of drinking water.



### Charcoal: History's No. 1 filter

Charcoal was used by the ancient Egyptians as early as 1550 B.C.

Charcoal has been used ever since then in many manufacturing processes, including the refining of sugar!

Charcoal made the gas mask possible in World War I.

Charcoal is used today for masks that are required equipment in many industries.

Charcoal helps freshen air in submarines and spacecraft.

Charcoal is used to mellow the taste of the finest bourbons.

Charcoal also plays a key role in auto pollution control devices.



### Activated charcoal does something for cigarette smoke, too.

While plain white filters reduce tar and nicotine, they also remove taste.

But Tareyton scientists created a unique, two-part filter—a white tip on the outside, activated charcoal on the inside. Tar and nicotine are reduced... but the taste is actually improved by charcoal. Charcoal in Tareyton smooths and balances and improves the tobacco taste.



"...That's why  
us Tareyton smokers  
would rather fight  
than switch."



**Tareyton is America's  
best-selling charcoal filter cigarette.**

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

King Size: 21 mg. "tar", 1.4 mg. nicotine,  
100 mm. 20 mg. "tar", 1.4 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette. FTC Report Nov. '75.



says of his success there. "It was an anti-Establishment vote that must have been a terrible blow for the man who comes in on Air Force One." Reagan's Nebraska campaign leader, Milan Bish, tells of asking a friend a few weeks ago. "Are you with me?" Replied the man. "No, I think I'll go with Ford." Adds Bish. "Well, I saw him last night at a Reagan rally, and he told me. 'Boy, we're really rolling now.'"

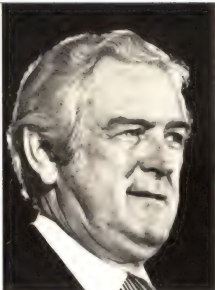
The biggest Reagan worry at the moment is money. His campaign is running \$1 million in debt, although he estimates that \$2 million is due him in matching federal funds, and he has been borrowing against that Reagan has been assailing Ford for his unfair advantage in being able to use Air Force One, a press plane and a cargo plane on campaign trips without having to pay the Government in advance, as commercial carriers require of other candidates. Ford does reimburse the Government after allocating travel and staff expenses between political and official duties. Top Reagan Aide Lyn Nofziger, who is concentrating on the climactic June 8 California primary—another "must" state for Reagan—insists: "When I say I ain't got no money, I mean I ain't got no money. Buy me a drink and I'll pocket the tip when you're not looking."

**F**ord's men, on the other hand, complain that Reagan is getting big-money support from conservatives not officially connected with the Reagan campaign. The Supreme Court ruled that it is unconstitutional to limit spending by individuals or groups who buy advertising or distribute literature without the candidate's consent or coordination. The American Conservative Union, for example, spent \$33,000 on advertising for Reagan in Texas and \$77,000 elsewhere.

While better off than Reagan's, the Ford campaign has spent \$8.5 million, and is edging close to the \$13.1 million legal limit for all the primaries. The President's delay in deciding whether to sign or veto the new Federal Election Commission law finally passed by Congress last week means there is little chance that additional federal money will reach Reagan or any of the other candidates in time for effective use before the final primaries.

As the fratricide continues, fear is mounting among many Republicans that the nomination may mean nothing, no matter who wins it. "This is a pitiful little party at best," says one prominent California Republican. "The fight is precluding us from any chance to win in November."

Various Yankelovich, Harris, Gallup and University of Michigan surveys place the percentage of voters who consider themselves Republican at between 18% and 25%, v. between 42% and 50% who consider themselves Democrats



TEXAS REPUBLICAN JOHN CONNALLY  
The scenario was suitable.

(the rest are self-styled independents). While Reagan backers insist that their man is now showing he can attract independents and Democrats, his following so far seems to be a narrowly based conservative bloc. "If Reagan succeeds in putting this coalition together," observes Marquette University Sociologist Wayne Youngquist, "it's not going to be a new majority, it's going to be a new minority."

Worry is growing that the party is headed for another Goldwater-like 1964 disaster, and Barry Goldwater shares that view. To the dismay of his far-right fans, he has been assailing Reagan for not being "honest" on the Panama Canal issue. Thunders Goldwater: "He's saying Ford is giving Panama away. Ford can't give anything away. It has to be the Senate and the House of Representatives." If Reagan "comes out for war" over the canal, Goldwater predicts, "he's going to defeat himself."

Moreover, Goldwater claims unkindly that "a lot of the same people who were backing me are just as viciously and strongly backing Reagan." In Arizona, Goldwater charges, some Reagan people threatened to defeat him if he ran for delegate to the National Convention. "I've never been a delegate, so it didn't matter a damn to me." He will be a speaker in Kansas City.

If either a convention deadlock or the fear of defeat in November paralyzes the party, the possibility of a compromise candidate—now only remote—would increase. At the moment nearly all such speculation centers on Connally. "You couldn't write a better scenario for Connally than what is happening in the Republican presidential campaign," says one of his political aides. But Connally's associates insist that he is making no move to seize the opportunity—yet. He is only giving

speeches on college campuses, appearing at party fund raisers, keeping his options open and staying neutral in the Reagan-Ford blood-letting.

Rockefeller also faces unexpected opportunities. He is quietly trying to gain influence over neighboring state delegations in Pennsylvania, Connecticut and New Jersey. Together with New York, they stand to have at least 300 uncommitted delegates, out of 1,130 needed to nominate. Rocky's aim is to keep those delegates in Ford's camp or, if the President appears to be losing, prevent them from stampeding to Reagan—and then use them as bargaining chips for his still unclear purposes.

Most distressed by the Ford-Reagan standoff on the right side of the G.O.P. are the party's moderates and liberals. To launch a third rival candidacy, or even a third-party campaign, would only ensure a Democratic victory. Maryland Senator Charles ("Mac") Mathias Jr., who once considered such a movement, has no yen for it now. Yet he is critical of Ford for trying to appease the Reaganites. "By trying to feed the alligators," Mathias complains, "the President has in fact helped them grow bigger. He has enhanced their importance. You can't appease the alligators—their appetite is insatiable."

Reagan's successes could turn out to be only a brief stretch of glory. In a national survey for TIME of 1,011 registered voters, taken just before the Texas primary, Opinion Analyst Daniel Yan-

kelovich found that Republicans and independents combined favor Ford by a huge margin: Ford 62%, Reagan 25%. Reagan supporters are about equally divided between conservative Republicans and those inde-

NELSON ROCKEFELLER



## THE NATION

pendents and Democrats who share Wallace's expressed concerns. Adds Yankelovich: "Reagan's victories in the South and Indiana are therefore deceptive. In these conservative states, there are more of the kind of people to whom he appeals than in the country as a whole, and they vote in primaries, especially when cross-over is permitted. As of the moment, Reagan's base is about as narrow as Goldwater's was in 1964."

The nationwide preference for Ford seems to belie any claim that Reagan would be the stronger candidate in November. A Harris survey taken last month shows that Ford would run much better than Reagan against Carter, though either Republican would lose to him. In that survey, Carter was ahead of Ford, 47% to 43%, and in front of Reagan, 53% to 34%.

**D**espite the feeling among Republican and Democratic leaders that Ford will survive the challenge in Kansas City, there remains considerable doubt. TIME last week asked its correspondents to estimate the number of delegates that Ford and Reagan are likely to win in the state elections ahead. Momentum and other imponderables could easily change the figures, but the correspondents produced an unexpected conclusion. At the moment, Reagan would go to Kansas City with about 150 more wholly committed delegates than Ford. But when Ford picks up the uncommitted delegates who are thought to lean to him, he gains a roughly 75-vote edge—hardly a decisive difference. In addition, there are about 120 delegate races that are now impossible to call. These may well be most important because, by TIME's latest projections, both men would be a shade short of the 1,130 needed to pin down the nomination.

That presages the decisive struggle ahead in the G.O.P., notably in the home states of the two contenders. Ford is currently conceded to be leading in Michigan by a precarious margin, and Reagan is thought to be ahead by a thread in California. Both sides agree that if either Ford or Reagan loses his home state, it would be a devastating blow. The irony would be if each were to win on the other's home ground—not an impossibility in this intriguing year.

The winner of the Republican rumble will face a tremendous challenge in trying to pull all the battered and shaken forces together to run well against the Democrat. That would be particularly true if the candidate is front runner Jimmy Carter and if he continues to show such broad strength throughout the nation's regions and voting groups. But stand by: judged by its form so far, 1976 will have further surprises lying in ambush on the road to the White House—for both the candidates and the electorate.

# "I've Had a Bum Rap"

Stumping Louisiana, a newly confident Ronald Reagan talked with TIME National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian. Excerpts:

**Q. Until now you have been unwilling to predict that you would win the Republican nomination. Why do you now say you can beat Gerald Ford on the first ballot?**

**A.** After four straight primary victories, I decided to say what I've really thought in my mind. People needed to hear me say that; so do all the uncommitted delegates. I believe I'm the only candidate who can beat Jimmy Carter, if he does win.

Ford made his first big mistake with

ment. Carter would not be able to use those arguments against me.

**Q. Isn't the divisiveness between you and Ford surely leading to a bitter, bloody convention?**

**A.** I think the divisiveness has come from him. He has repeatedly done one thing and said another. And then he attacks me for pointing out the inconsistencies. Take Cuba. I know that since last May we've been warming up to Castro, including trying to influence the Organization of American States. Suddenly, during the Florida primary, Ford tells the Cubans in Miami that Castro is an international outlaw. In North Carolina, he made strident statements against gun



RONALD & NANCY REAGAN LUNCH ALONE AT THEIR PACIFIC PALISADES HOME. After a shaky start, he now sees a first-ballot nomination.

me when he said publicly that I should get out of the race. That was at our low point, right after the Illinois defeat. Everybody was telling me to get out. As soon as I heard the Ford remark I knew it would backfire on him. I repeated it to every audience in North Carolina, and it helped us. Now we're really rolling. I'll bet they're plenty nervous over at the White House.

**Q. Why do you consider yourself a stronger candidate than Ford?**

**A.** Ford has shown he is unable to go past his old friends in Congress and to the public. He does not rally people or sell his programs. He just blames Congress. Besides, with Ford as the nominee, Republicans would have to defend a candidate who's been responsible for the biggest budget in our history, who's let our military strength erode, who's done nothing to reduce bloated Govern-

ment at the same time that his Attorney General was pushing a gun-control bill through Congress. On Panama, he denied in Texas that we were giving up any rights to the Canal. Then we learn from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker's congressional testimony that he's been negotiating it away.

I wasn't prepared for the false denials or the personal attacks. Why shouldn't I speak back when he calls me glib and irresponsible and worse? I hope he won't keep it up. We better set our sights on the election.

**Q. The President's campaign staff contends that your string of primary victories last week was due to Wallace supporters who voted for you. Do you agree?**

**A.** What are they complaining about? On the one hand the Ford people claim my base is too narrow, a small minority within the party. When I attract Dem-

# Suppose all bourbons came in unlabeled bottles.



Without a label, there's really no way to tell one bourbon from another. Except to trust in your own good sense of taste.

That's because your taste buds don't give a hoot about product names. Or labels. Or about a bottle's shape or color.


The only thing your taste buds care about is taste. Be it good, bad or just so-so, they'll be bluntly honest about it.

We simply suggest that you give Benchmark a try.

Because whatever your taste buds tell you about Benchmark, you know it's the truth.

**Seagram's Benchmark. The Premium Bourbon.**  
**"Measure your Bourbon against it."**





You could solve  
Mother's Day, Father's Day  
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the old standbys.

But wouldn't  
they be pleased  
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A dozen roses, a dozen golf balls, or cash—they're all tried and true gifts. But sometimes you want to give something that's special. Enduring. Something that will still be around next year or ten years from now.

A Parker 75 is the answer. The Parker 75 ball pen is everything you're looking for, wrapped up in

solid sterling silver. Its microscopically-textured ball point sets down a clean, crisp track. And well it might. We take three weeks just to make the tiny ball point.

The Parker 75 soft tip pen is more emotional. Its bold stroke adds weight and warmth to your words. And over the years it will be a constant reminder to someone to keep in touch.

The 75 ball pen in sterling silver is \$17.50. The 75 soft tip pen in 22K gold electroplate is \$20. In cost, either pen is just about a standoff with the old standbys. But as a gift of immediate and lasting value, a Parker 75 stands alone.



**PARKER**

*World's most wanted pens*



## THE NATION

ocrats and independents and blue-collar voters, they gripe. They can't have it both ways. The Republicans absolutely cannot win in November without those voters.

**Q.** *If you are the nominee, and Carter is your opponent, what will be the principal issues?*

**A.** Well, Carter is running on an anti-Washington, anti-Big Government philosophy. But when he does offer a solution, it turns out to be another federal program. Take his approach to national health insurance. That's socialized medicine, let's not kid ourselves. There is no health care crisis. We have some problems but they can be solved without compulsory insurance for everybody.

Or his approach to unemployment: he's for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. If ever there was a design for fascism, that's it. Fascism was really the basis for the New Deal. It was Mussolini's success in Italy, with his government-directed economy, that led the early New Dealers to say, "But Mussolini keeps the trains running on time." The Humphrey-Hawkins bill calls for the same kind of planned economy, and that would mark the end of the free marketplace in this country.

**Q.** *What political strengths do you see in Carter, and in yourself?*

**A.** I think both he and I share this advantage of not being part of the Washington scene. It's time for new faces. The people who were part of this enormous buildup of Government are not the ones who can change it.

**Q.** *Both you and Carter have stressed the need for a moral revival in the country. How large an issue is this?*

**A.** There's a real hunger in this country for a return to spiritual and moral values. I hear it and feel it everywhere I speak. Carter seems to be able to volunteer this information about his deep beliefs easier than I can. I don't know whether on my part there's a hesitancy to involve God in a political campaign. I know one thing: it's inconceivable to me that anyone would think he could do this job, the presidency, if he couldn't call on God for help and have the faith that he'd be granted that help.

**Q.** *You have had little support from blacks or poor people. You are not viewed as a leader who is ready to rush to help the neglected or poverty-stricken. Is that a fair view?*

**A.** That's part of my image, unfortunately, and I have to deal with it if I expect broad support. It springs partly from my strong positions on welfare. I think welfare destroys human beings. I really think I've had a bum rap on caring about people who need help.

I know a little about prejudice. My father was a rough, tough Irishman, a Catholic, and my mother was Protestant. I used to catch all the Pope sto-

ries. I'll just have to make myself and my record clear: as Governor, for example, I appointed more blacks to executive and policymaking jobs than all the rest of the California Governors combined.

But it's a problem for me. I know. I saw a column recently that said my attacks on Henry Kissinger were because I was anti-Semitic. Such stupidity. James Schlesinger, whom I admire, is the son of Jewish immigrants. I would consider any Administration would be fortunate to have a man like Schlesinger in it.

**Q.** *You have been accused by Senator Barry Goldwater of encouraging guerrilla warfare in Panama. What is the difference between having a treaty with guaranteed rights to the Panama Canal and your insistence that we maintain total control over the canal?*

**A.** I don't understand Goldwater attacking me on this. He signed a Senate resolution himself in 1974 committing us totally to retain ownership of the canal. Treaties invite nationalization. Then we really would be faced with guerrilla warfare. Retaining ownership, to me, is far more stabilizing.

**Q.** *Six months ago, when you announced for the presidency, you said you were doing it out of a sense of duty, like a paying of dues, and that you almost wished someone else were in your position. Many people see a dramatic change in your ambition to be President. You seem more aggressive, more zealous. Has your attitude changed?*

**A.** I was a little bit in awe of the decision then; now it's not so hard for me. I feel a change must take place in this country, that we've reached a point of crisis in our history. People have become so isolated, so dependent. Yes, now I want very much to go to Washington.

## Kissinger: A Growing Issue

As he headed for lunch in Nairobi last week, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was besieged by reporters with questions about President Ford's latest primary defeats. "Why blame me?" Kissinger replied. "I was out of the country." Nevertheless, he added, he was checking every morning to make sure that his plane was still parked at the Nairobi airport.

Behind the lighthearted banter was a grimly sober realization: every time Ford loses a primary, Kissinger is bound to get some—or much—of the blame. When the President lost the North Carolina primary, for example, his confidant Mel Laird and his campaign chairman Rogers Morton both remarked that Kissinger would not remain in office much longer. After the more critical setbacks in Texas and Indiana, Kissinger was under even greater fire from a number of top Republicans and White House aides.

Ford's staff was especially outraged that Kissinger gave his speech calling for black majority rule in southern Africa only four days before the Texas primary. "The s.o.b. cost us 100,000 votes," complained one aide. Said another: "The timing of the Kissinger trip was bad enough. So why did Henry have to be quite so outspoken and provocative in reading the riot act to the Rhodesians? Doesn't he realize that there are people in this country who might see the situation differently, who might think we're abandoning an old friend under pressure from a lot of screaming,



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Johnny-come-lately Communist or radical-leaning black nations?" But, the aide was asked, wasn't Kissinger's line justified, to a great extent, from a policy standpoint? "You mean from a foreign policy standpoint," he retorted in what amounted to a stunning show of political cynicism.

There was, in fact, little evidence that Kissinger's speech had cost the President many votes in Texas, or anywhere else for that matter. The local press did not give the address much play; minds were doubtless made up on other issues. What is more, Kissinger's African speech had been cleared by White House Chief of Staff Richard Cheney and by Ford himself. The President and Kissinger had gone over its outline in two one-hour sessions, and Ford had indicated his decision to support the revised policy at a Cabinet meeting before the Secretary left for Africa. Finally, the timing was dictated not by Kissingerian whim but by a long-scheduled United Nations trade meeting in Kenya (see TIME WORLD). Kissinger did not just wander aimlessly into the Dark Continent.

Yet, there was no doubt that Ronald Reagan believed attacking Secretary Kissinger was good politics. Again and again the Californian lashed out at the Administration for adopting the policies that have inflamed the Republican right wing: Kissinger's having "bowed and scraped" before the Soviet Union in his efforts to maintain détente; his negotiations to "give away" the Panama Canal; his overtures to Fidel Castro last year; his purported pessimism about the future of America and the free world.

**K**issinger thus seems bound to become more, not less of a campaign issue as the primaries proceed, and a number of Congressmen have been increasingly critical of him in recent days. After the President met with G.O.P. Hill leaders last week, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin was asked if any of the legislators had called for Kissinger's resignation during the session. Replied Griffin: "There was one who suggested that Secretary Kissinger ought to go."

Even so, the President seems as determined as ever to keep him on. Nor would Ford blame Kissinger for his primary defeats. At a Rose Garden press conference last week, the President said that his staff was analyzing the "total picture." He doubted if any single issue, such as foreign policy, could explain the defeats. "I am sure it was a combination of many, many things." If the election analysis proved Kissinger to be a liability, a reporter asked, would his post be in jeopardy? Replied Ford: "Not at all."

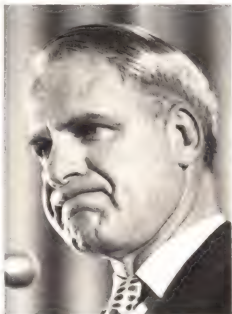
In part, the President's hands are tied. If he dumps his Secretary at this late date, it will appear that he has panicked and knuckled under to the right

wing—which is going to vote for Reagan in Kansas City anyway. Moreover, the sacking of Kissinger would be seen as a patently political move and would doubtless cost him votes among moderates and independents in the general election. "We've crossed that Rubicon," says a White House aide who thinks that Kissinger will last out the year. Despite the mounting attacks, a number of polls indicate that Kissinger has lost very little ground with the general public. Last week a Gallup survey showed that 48% of the people still approve of the Secretary while 34% do not; a Yankelovich survey conducted for TIME revealed that 64% have some or a lot of confidence in Kissinger and 32% have no confidence.

For his part, Kissinger shows no

signs of quitting. "There may be days when he wants to," said one of his closest aides. "But he won't." In his fighter moments, the Secretary sometimes even jests about remaining in office until the end of 1980. He considered resigning at the end of last year, then decided to stay on, though he knew he would often be cast in the role of whipping boy. In Africa last week he expressed a determination to fight Reagan, who he thinks has measurably lowered the tone of the foreign policy debate. "I cannot do anything other than what I think is in the national interest. I cannot go up and down with every primary," he said. After seven years in power, he is reconciled to growing criticism. "I'm at peace with myself and it doesn't matter what happens week to week."

## Defense: The Numbers Game



FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER  
A question of "rough equivalence."

Those who are behind, said President Ford, "try harder—and sometimes swing wilder too." Ford was trying to dismiss one of Challenger Ronald Reagan's wild, but nonetheless effective swings, his claims that the President and his old colleagues in Congress had allowed the Soviet Union to surpass the U.S. in military might. Reagan's startling victories in Texas and Indiana seemed in part to show that he was on to a hot campaign issue: whether the U.S. has indeed become No. 2 behind the Soviets in military strength. It is also a familiar topic in U.S. political history, the "missile gap" argument, was a major part of the 1960 campaign.

Ford has been trying to counter Reagan's claims with variations of a basic

theme: "We are absolutely unsurpassed in military capability, and we [have the power] to deter aggression, to maintain the peace, and to protect our national security." As Reagan pressed his charges, Ford began taking some well-publicized steps aimed at proving that he would spare no expense to keep the U.S. that way. As a bemedaled American officer put it: "There's no question that the more Reagan sticks it to him, the more dollars we're going to see." Items:

► Ford supported building the B-1 supersonic strategic bomber (at roughly \$87.8 million apiece), although final tests are not scheduled to be completed until this fall.

► Having already submitted to Congress the biggest defense budget in history—\$112.7 billion in spending requests—the President asked for an additional \$322 million last month for 60 Minuteman III missiles. Each is armed with three nuclear warheads

that can be separately targeted.

► With \$6.3 billion already requested to build new ships for the Navy, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld asked the Senate Armed Services Committee to add another \$1.2 billion. The total would build 21 ships for the U.S. fleet.

Rumsfeld insisted that it was "plainly outrageous" to suggest that the request for new funds was linked to the President's loss to Reagan in Texas. To be sure, the Administration did decide to request the new funds on the morning of the day that Texans were balloting, but the decision was only a tentative one. The final go-ahead was given later.

No matter how much Ford says and does, Reagan seems to go on scoring

# "In 1973, I insured my house for \$40,000. When it was destroyed in 1975, State Farm paid me \$52,200."

— Jack Horn, State Farm policyholder, Ralston, Nebraska

"I knew the price of building had been going up. But, when I found out the replacement cost of my house had gone up 30% in two years, I couldn't believe it. Fortunately, I had the automatic Inflation Coverage feature added onto my homeowners policy on the advice of my agent. As it turned out, the Inflation Coverage had increased my policy over \$12,000 in a little over two years."

"I don't know where I'd have been without it. Probably trying to rebuild a \$52,000 house with \$40,000 of insurance."



Policyholder Jack Horn, State Farm agent Jerry Lettler, and Jack's rebuilt house.

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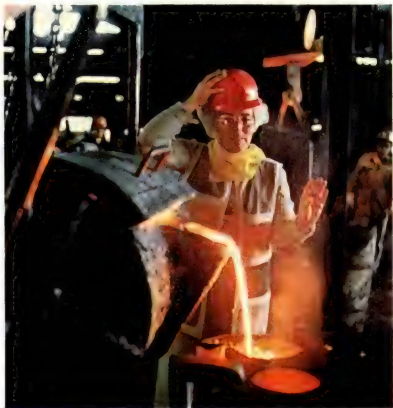


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# IBM Reports

How one company's people and products are helping find the answers to some of the world's problems



Mrs. Vickie Van Steenberg, president of Lodi Iron Works, Lodi, California, watches as molten iron is poured for casting.

## Helping make her foundries more efficient

Vickie Van Steenberg learned firsthand what costs and efficiency mean to a business. Her first job after graduating from high school was as a payroll clerk for Lodi Iron Works in her hometown in California. This led in time to the office of secretary-treasurer and ultimately to the role of president of the company, which now operates two foundries in the Lodi area.

While many small foundries have had to close their doors in recent years, Mrs. Van Steenberg manages a thriving business and, with the help of a small IBM computer, has found new ways to improve her company's productivity, service and profitability.

The foundries, which employ about

100 people, do custom casting to customers' specifications. Generally, there are 800 to 1,000 different jobs in the shops at a time. If there's an error in a casting or if the specifications change, it's important to know about it before an entire production run has to be scrapped. The computer keeps track of each job—its progress through the shop, its costs and due date. The record is updated every afternoon and a report on the status of every job is on hand the following morning. The time savings are directly related to cost savings. "We now have the information fast enough to make corrections while a job is in progress," says Mrs. Van Steenberg. "With the figures we get from

the computer, we can adjust everything immediately—purchasing, scheduling, manpower. We're not looking at month-old figures. That's the main thing that keeps the profits coming in."

Mrs. Van Steenberg also points out that the computer has helped her develop good relations with her customers. Since up-to-date records are on hand for all jobs the company handles, she can give her customers a more accurate estimate of prices and shipping dates. "We've built a reputation for being reliable," she says. "When a customer calls, we can tell him exactly when he can have his casting. We have it pinned down to within hours."



## Saving power for the press

When the huge presses of the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News start to roll, they require an enormous surge of power. An IBM computer automatically shuts down parts of the plant's 45-fan ventilation system to counteract this surge and lower the peak demand. At all other times, computer control continues to maintain comfort levels with the minimum use of power. In its first 12 months the system cut power consumption by 20.7 per cent and, according to data processing manager John Neighbors, had paid for itself in power saved within a year and a half.



## Modern skills bring new life to reservation

A small electronics factory in Vineland, Minnesota has made a big difference to the Chippewa Indians of the surrounding Mille Lacs Reservation. The plant has grown steadily since it opened in 1969. At that time it consisted of five people working on IBM contracts in a 10 by 15 foot basement room with tooling and technical training supplied by IBM.

Today it operates in a 7,000 square foot building with up to 50 employees, almost all of whom are Chippewas. The plant now does work for several other manufacturers, and annual sales have grown tenfold. To the Chippewas, who used to depend mainly on fishing, harvesting of wild rice and seasonal jobs in summer resorts, the plant has brought the security of steady work.

IBM's minority supplier program, of which this project is a part, was started in 1968 with a commitment to seek out and develop minority sources of supply. In the first year there were 10 of them. Today there are more than 200 across the country.



## Fighting potato blight more economically

Farmers in 11 states have a new ally in their battle against blight, one of the most destructive potato crop diseases. It's a computerized blight forecast service developed by plant pathologists at Pennsylvania State University. This service has helped the growers make their farms more productive while lowering the cost of raising their crops.

Each week the farmers telephone information on rainfall, temperature and humidity to researchers at Penn State who enter the data into an IBM computer. In seconds the computer analyzes the conditions and prints out recommendations about whether spraying for blight will be needed that week.

While it used to be standard procedure to spray once a week—at a cost of more than \$4 per acre—many of the growers now safeguard their crops by spraying only when conditions indicate blight danger. One farmer reports he saves \$3,000 by cutting his spraying from 12 to 7 times a season.

## Computer helps students learn math faster

Three times a week, Sue Coleman, a student at Germantown Elementary School in Maryland, spends ten minutes of her math class working through problems on a computer terminal. "It's made a lot of difference to me," she says. "It just seems like I'm learning more math and it's so much more fun to do it on the computer. It comes back and says 'fantastic' when you get things right and it makes you feel good. And if you get something wrong it gives you a second chance."

Sue is one of 4,500 students in Montgomery County who are finding that the instant response of a computer-assisted math program helps them learn math. The program's effectiveness was tested with a six-year demonstration project in three schools. Last year the arithmetic programs were expanded to 12 elementary schools and a computer-managed geometry program was expanded to six senior high schools.

Results of the demonstration project showed that the computer-assisted program was significantly more productive for students and teachers. In one



Working at computer terminals, students from Seneca Valley High School in Germantown, Maryland sharpen math skills at their own pace.

sixth grade study, just 30 minutes a week of computer time throughout the school year enabled students who used the computer to gain half a grade in achievement levels over those who did not. And in some cases student "growth" rates were raised to as much as one year in four months. Preliminary results indicate that similar improvements can be expected from the expanded program.

According to teachers who have

worked with the system, it relieves them of much time-consuming drill work, enabling them to use their time more productively in individual instruction or working with small groups. It also helps them to locate the areas in which students are having difficulty, so that they can offer help where it is needed.

**IBM**



Ghia interior. Console optional. 4-speed transmission. Stallion with optional racing mirrors, RWL tires, forged aluminum wheels and 2-tone paint.



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With 4-speed transmission. Your actual mileage will vary depending on driving habits, driving conditions, car equipment and your car's mechanical condition. (For California mileage, see your local Ford Dealer.)



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Mustang II Ghia interior. Console optional. Options shown: Dual remote mirrors, RWL tires.



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sporty 3-door 2+2 to the handsome Mach 1, there's more choice than ever.

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**FORD MUSTANG II**

FORD DIVISION



points by exploiting the defense issue. In a rare display of public anger, Ford lashed out at his opponent just before the Texas primary as a man whose "simplistic" approach to national-security problems could lead him to make "irresponsible and fundamentally harmful policy decisions" if he ever did become President.

Reagan does have a tendency to speak glibly of defense matters. He has said that the U.S. should exploit its lead in technology to offset Soviet numerical superiority. No one could quarrel with that aim—indeed, it is a basic premise of U.S. strategy. But Reagan went on to suggest using the cruise missile to counter Soviet tanks. Still under development, the cruise missile is no battlefield

to resupply at sea and ports of call.

The statistics game also ignores the fact that the U.S. would be supported by allied forces in the most likely theater for a major conventional war: Europe. Defense experts believe that the alliance's forces, with the aid of tactical nuclear weapons, are now strong enough to resist what they consider the most dangerous kind of Soviet attack: a quick blitz aimed at seizing the Continent in two or three violent days. The goal of

ventional forces that could stand up to the Soviet army, the U.S. would reduce the likelihood of risking Armageddon, since it would not have to rely so heavily on nuclear arms to turn the tide of a conventional war.

Taking into account all of the many factors glossed over by Reagan, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld characterizes the U.S.-Soviet military relationship as one of "rough equivalence," a view shared by many European officials. But Rumsfeld argues, like Reagan, that the Soviet Union is expanding and perfecting its arsenal of weaponry at such a rate that the U.S. does stand in real danger of falling dangerously behind in future years.

One man who agrees with Reagan's general aims is former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, who was fired last November by Ford, partly because of his feuding with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, partly because he wanted \$2.7 billion more for the Pentagon than the White House was willing to give—at the time. Last December he gave Reagan a three-hour briefing on defense matters, and has



ATTACK AIRCRAFT CARRIER NIMITZ

weapon, armed with a nuclear or conventional warhead, it will be launched from aircraft or naval vessels against strategic targets up to 2,000 miles away.

In his basic speech on the hustings, Reagan claims, "The Soviet Union is continuing to outspend us by about 50% and is way ahead of us in conventional weapons. The Soviet Union outnumbered us 2 to 1 in manpower, 3 to 1 in artillery, and 4 to 1 in tanks." Western military experts have no real argument with Reagan's figures. By almost any numerical measure, the Soviets lead the U.S.: an estimated \$141 billion in 1975 defense spending to \$94 billion for the U.S.; 253 attack submarines to 73; 34,500 battle tanks to 10,000; 168 combat divisions to 19; 3.6 million men under arms to 2.1 million.

But such simple comparisons are misleading. They leave out, for example, the technological superiority that Reagan himself refers to. Riding laser beams, U.S. "smart" bombs are far more accurate than anything in the Soviet arsenal. The Soviets have more tactical aircraft than the U.S. (5,350 vs. 5,000), but a Soviet MIG-23 cannot be refueled in flight, while an American F-4 can, and also carries 6½ more tons of ordnance. The U.S.S.R. has not fought a war since 1945; the U.S. has armed services staffed with officers and men who were battle-hardened in Viet Nam. With 2,329 ships, the new Soviet navy heavily outnumbers the 478-vessel U.S. fleet. But the U.S. is ahead in tonnage and ability



MINUTEMAN MISSILE BEING ASSEMBLED



B-1 STRATEGIC BOMBER TAKING OFF ON MAIDEN FLIGHT FROM PALMDALE, CALIF.

such a Soviet onslaught would be to overrun Europe and confront the U.S. with a *fait accompli* while the Administration was still making up its mind to launch nuclear missiles at Russia.

In any strategic nuclear exchange, the Russians would also start with a numerical advantage in terms of missiles—2,350 to 1,710—but the U.S. would have a sizable lead in warheads—9,000 to 3,500. Even if the Soviets launched a pre-emptive strike, the U.S. would still be able to mount a counterattack that would lay waste much of the Soviet Union. The casualties would be beyond belief: 100 million dead Americans, 100 million dead Russians. Strategists in London as well as in Washington believe that the war would probably be won by the U.S.—insofar as winning would any longer have meaning.

To avoid the possibility of such a catastrophe, the experts agree with Reagan—and Ford, as well—the U.S. should build up its conventional forces. By so doing, the U.S. should "raise the nuclear threshold," in the jargon of the strategists. That is, by fielding strong con-



EIGHT DESTROYERS BEING BUILT IN MISSISSIPPI

since kept in touch with his staff. Reagan invokes his name frequently—eight times in a two-day stretch last week—and Schlesinger says he could live with Reagan as President.

But Schlesinger, who is trying to stay neutral so that his views will gain wide currency, differs with the way Reagan and Ford are fighting over the strength of U.S. defenses. Says he: "This 'Who is No. 1?' and 'Who is No. 2?' business oversimplifies matters. It does not enlighten the public on the nuances of the issues."



DISPLAY ON PANAMA CANAL COMPANY COMMISSARY



ZONIAN'S HOUSES ON A RESIDENTIAL STREET IN THE CITY OF BALBOA

## The Canal Zone: On Edge

*The 8th century Caliph Harun al-Rashid once took a Heracleian slave girl into his harem. So homesick was she that the Caliph built for her an exact replica of Heraclea, her native Greek city, at her exile on the banks of the Euphrates. To many the American enclave of the Panama Canal Zone seems such a Heraclea, almost a parody of country-club America, an elegant company town set down in the Panamanian jungle. But that picture is something of a stereotype, as TIME's Bernard Diederich discovered when he visited the zone last week. Diederich's report:*

The rains have begun. Balboa is a riot of color, of blooming red hibiscus, bougainvillea and lilacs. Override mangoes rot on the ground. On a weekday morning, the only sound on the quiet residential street is that of power lawnmowers. Says the wife of a Panama Canal (Panacanal) executive: "Don't write that our lawns are manicured. It gives the wrong idea. After all, this is just small-town U.S.A." On another street, Dolores Irwin, wife of a canal pilot and resident of the zone for a decade, points to her clipped lawn and says, "It's for health reasons. Mosquitoes breed in the long grass."

**W**herever one goes in this 647-sq.-mi. zone bifurcating the Panamanian nation, Zonians are on the defensive. "This is *not* country-club living," they say in exasperation, not the enclave of air-conditioned colonial privilege that it has been portrayed, not an opulent anachronism in a world of nationalism. They point to the termites at work on their houses, the jungle growing up to the kitchen door, the "yacht club" at Gatun Lake that amounts to little more than a raft children dive from, while their parents drink beer and cook the

family dinner: barbecued Panamanian beef. The club, like the zone's four non-military golf courses, was built by the employees, not the company.

At times the towns in the zone have the feel of, say, Longview, Texas. There are 10,000 Zonians—civilian Americans who live there. The rest of the 35,000 Americans in the zone are mostly military personnel and their dependents—not real Zonians, as they define themselves. A total of 45 churches serve the population. Local Boy Scouts are active. The zone has Little Leagues, an Elks Club, Masons, Knights of Columbus, two American Legion clubs, ROTC at Balboa and Cristobal High Schools, gun clubs, credit unions, six riding clubs, four beaches, four yacht clubs. If it is not an immense country club, the zone does offer the Americans there an agreeable life. Whatever the merits of Strongman Omar Torrijos Herrera's case for Panamanian control of the zone, few would readily give up their lives.

Last week, black and white children were exercising in the playground of St. Mary's Mission school on Balboa Road, while parents picked over the shelves of the Panacanal commissary, where eggs sell for 72¢ a dozen and cigarettes \$3.10 a carton. On the entrance, across from the post office and movie theater, a 1776 marching scene and patriotic colors are painted. Only an Indian selling "mola," pretty San Blas Island decorative cloth, suggests that this is not the U.S.

Politically, Zonians are a mixed lot. There are many Democrats on the Pacific side—some Zonians estimate 70%—and mostly they support Jimmy Carter. Joyce Ousborn, for instance, says of Reagan: "We don't need another hot-head. Carter looks good to me." In the more militant and isolated communities of the Atlantic side, the Americans seem almost exclusively pro-Reagan. At a

meeting of the Margarita Civic Council on the Atlantic side, an informal poll found one was pro-Carter, one pro-Ford and 20 for Reagan. "Reagan has the right perspective on the canal," they say.

In the small community of Los Rios on the Pacific side, Jim Fulton, 40, a Canal Zone policeman and his wife, Pat, live with their three small daughters. Many of their neighbors have boats and trailers in their backyards. In the evenings, husbands and wives, barefoot and in shorts, barbecue on their small front lawns. Jim sits at his kitchen table with a friend, one of the 39 Panamanians on the 262-member police force. Fulton, Alabama-born, was raised in the zone; his father worked on the canal. "I'm grateful for what Reagan is doing," says Fulton, "no matter what his motives. But I like Jimmy Carter. I'd like Jimmy to get things cleaned up in Washington and get rid of that goddamned Secretary of State."

**I**n the book-lined sitting room, Pat Fulton is busy on her Ph.D. thesis for Alabama's Auburn University on the Argentine Writer Jorge Luis Borges. She came to the zone ten years ago. "My in-laws gave me the spiel about beautiful place to live, beautiful place to raise kids, it was paradise. For the first 2½ years I thought the top of my head was going to blow off the boxed-in feeling, the apathy, the cultural wasteland." Now she finds the atmosphere less insulated and isolated. She became head of the Pacific Civil Council and has even traveled to Washington to plead the Zonian case before a House subcommittee.

"When we have had scares about a new treaty before," says Pat Fulton, "there would always be two sides down here. One would say, 'We are going anyway now.' And the other would say, 'No, your kids will graduate. Don't worry. We have had these scares for a long time.'" So they have, but this time there is a different edge to the anxiety.



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## DEMOCRATS

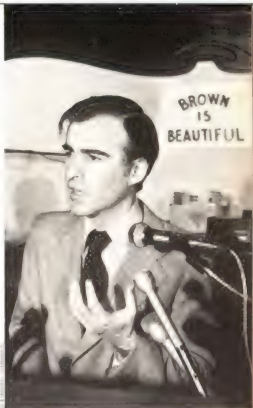
# Learning to Live with Jimmy

"The handwag is rolling. The steamroller is on." So lamented Morris Udall last week as he ruefully watched more and more top Democratic politicians and labor honchos line up behind Jimmy Carter.

With 610 delegates in hand (needed to nominate 1,505), Carter has decided to spend fewer 16-hr days on the campaign trail and more time trying to unite the party behind him—a goal that eluded George McGovern in 1972 and Hubert Humphrey in 1968. With some success, he solicited support at the meeting of black Democratic leaders in Charlotte, N.C. (see following story), then spent several days at home in Plains, Ga., phoning scores of Democratic union leaders, members of Congress, Governors, mayors, state and local party chiefs. Among those he wooed were Democratic Chairman Robert Strauss, former Chairman Larry O'Brien, Chi-

cago Mayor Richard Daley, New York Governor Hugh Carey and Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton. "Most politicians deal with reality, and reality points toward Carter," Predicts Party Chairman Strauss. "We will have our most united effort since 1964 this November. Carter will not cause the kinds of antagonisms that George McGovern did in 1972."

Senator Birch Bayh was the only former candidate to become a twice-born Carter zealot last week and helped the Georgian roll up a 68% victory in Indiana. Some politicians viewed Bayh's move as his bid to become Carter's running mate. The Georgian was also endorsed by Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe and Henry Ford II. On the other hand, Carter's lukewarm backing of Mc-



**BROWN STUMPING IN MARYLAND**  
Stirring enthusiasm.

Govern four years ago still rangles. Said McGovern, "I will support Jimmy Carter with the same enthusiasm with which he supported the Democratic ticket in 1972."

To build more bridges to Capitol Hill, Carter sent all Democratic Senators copies of his position papers and other statements on issues. He will make his pitch in person to Democratic House and Senate leaders in Washington this week. He also plans to court the leaders of the AFI-CIO. Its president, George Meany, would prefer Humphrey, but is described by associates as resigned to a Carter nomination. In contrast, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock endorsed Carter last week.

**Series of Clashes.** Carter's appeal is powerfully enhanced by his continued successes at the polls. Besides Indiana, he won primaries in Georgia and the District of Columbia last week. He lost in Alabama to George Wallace, partly because he did not try hard for a victory on Wallace's own turf. In fact Carter staffers viewed the defeat as sowing long-term benefits. Explained one of them, "I'm glad we didn't do any better. I didn't want us to rub Wallace's nose in the dirt. We may need him at the convention." Wallace insisted that he will not help Carter get the nomination, but if he wins it, "I could support Mr. Carter."

Next, Carter will have a series of clashes with his remaining active rivals this week in Nebraska against Church, who has gone all out to overcome Carter's lead in that state, next week against



**CARTER RELAXING IN HIS ATLANTA HOTEL ROOM AFTER PRIMARY VICTORIES**  
Less time campaigning and more time trying to unite the party.

cago Mayor Richard Daley, New York Governor Hugh Carey and Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton.

Most of the Democrats showed prudent and respectful new interest for Carter, but were reluctant to back him publicly just now. Said Alan Baron, Senator George McGovern's press secretary, of the sentiment among liberals: "It is more resignation than enthusiasm. They've stopped resisting." Some Democrats want Carter to win more primaries before coming out for him. Others are playing hard to get, even though there is no indication that Carter is willing to make any deals. Daley is thought to be willing to trade his endorsement for a prom-

Sutton said. "Most politicians deal with reality, and reality points toward Carter," Predicts Party Chairman Strauss. "We will have our most united effort since 1964 this November. Carter will not cause the kinds of antagonisms that George McGovern did in 1972."

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## THE NATION

Udall in Michigan and Brown in Maryland. With the backing of Woodcock and other U.A.W. leaders, Carter seems certain to win in Michigan, even though Udall is mounting a two-week blitz that involves spending "\$80,000 for sure, \$160,000 if possible."

In Maryland, Brown, 38, stirred considerable enthusiasm among young people and even many party regulars with calls "for a new generation of leadership." He hopes that by doing well in Maryland's beauty contest—he has no delegates running on his behalf—he can ensure victory in Nevada the following week and a triumphant sweep in California on June 8. Because Brown seems to be cutting into Carter's lead in Maryland, the Georgian scheduled an extra day of campaigning in the state.

**Quick Buck.** As his drive accelerated, Carter had to cope with two embarrassing incidents. One involved Robert Shrum, a disgruntled liberal and former McGovern aide, who quit as a speechwriter after only nine days on Carter's staff and accused the candidate of being manipulative and deceptive on the issues. In his letter of resignation, Shrum told Carter: "I am not sure what you truly believe in other than yourself."

Among other things, according to Shrum, Carter has indicated to intimates that he was having second thoughts about his pledges to suspend the B-1 bomber program and to trim the Pentagon budget. Carter denied Shrum's charges, explaining that he still opposed the B-1 bomber and would cut defense spending by \$5-\$7 billion in his first year as President but had never promised to continue to cut year after year.

The other embarrassment involved Carter family members. Several weeks ago, Brother-in-Law Walter G. Spann sold to seven south Georgians, for less than \$1,000, half an acre of land near the Carter peanut warehouse in Plains. Carter discovered, much to his dismay, that the investors were trying to turn a quick buck by selling the land as 1-sq-in. "peanut farms" for \$5 each, complete with red-white-and-blue certificates of ownership. One of his sisters, Gloria Carter Spann, bought the first of the several hundred little inches that have already been sold, and her husband has purchased 500 shares of stock in the land sales company.

Carter denounced the tacky deal as "a misleading scheme designed to bilk the public" and "gross commercialization." Undeterred, Investor J.D. Clements of Americus, Ga., boasted that he and his associates could make as much as \$15 million in the event that all the land is bought. The group also has an option on another ten acres next to the Carter warehouse. Moreover, Clements said, Mrs. Spann stands to "get a percentage of everything we sell over the original half-acre." It was a disgraceable bit of business for Jimmy, but hardly more than a tiny speck of mud on the wheels of the rolling bandwagon.



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT:  
MERVYN DYMALLY, RICHARD  
HATCHER, JESSE JACKSON,  
YVONNE BURKE

## Mobilizing the Black Bloc

Black Americans, one of the last solid voting blocs in the nation, gave almost 90% of their ballots to George McGovern in 1972. That translated into an estimated 6 million votes, or 20% of his total at the polls. For all their potential muscle, however, blacks have felt themselves out in the political cold for years—ignored since 1968 by Republican Washington and slighted in Democratic councils since McGovern's defeat.

With 14 million blacks eligible to vote (about half of them are registered), black leaders this year are determined to barter their influence with this sizable bloc for increased influence on Democratic Party policy. That task has been made considerably more difficult by the fact that, at an unexpectedly early date, Georgia's Jimmy Carter is virtually the only Democratic candidate left with whom to strike a bargain. Many blacks who had counted on Hubert Humphrey to serve as a rallying point were left stunned by his refusal to join the race. California Congressman Ron Dellums said: "We should have been asking questions a year ago, before we got to the point where we ran out of alternatives."

Still, blacks are organizing to make Carter—or whoever eventually gets the Democratic nomination—take notice of them. In a three-day meeting that ended last week in Charlotte, N.C., more than 1,000 members of the Caucus of Black Democrats brandished what is at least their negative power—withholding black votes from a candidate they consider insufficiently responsive. Said Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher: "Any candidate running for President

who feels that black people have no other option, no place to go, is in for a rude awakening. If we choose not to support any of the candidates, we could just stay home." Putting it more affirmatively, Caucus Chairman Basil Paterson, who is also a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, remarked: "We can frame the issues in such a way that blacks will be turned on."

The conference drew up a "survival agenda" of demands. Among them: passage and quick federal action on the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, a national health-care program, strong enforcement of affirmative-action programs for black employment, a guaranteed national income plan, more money for impoverished areas.

**Cabinet Posts.** The pre-eminence of Jimmy Carter left the conference in some confusion and uneasiness. Much of the Georgian's black support in the early primaries was rooted in the desire to eliminate George Wallace from the race. But, said Jesse Jackson, head of Chicago's Operation PUSH (for People United to Save Humanity): "The absence of Wallace is not the presence of justice." According to Jackson, there is no candidate running who inspires the black community.

Nonetheless, Carter's undisputed lead made him a focal point of the conference, an object of intense speculation. Behind closed doors, Young, Paterson, Hatcher, California's Congresswoman Yvonne Burke and other black leaders met to hear Carter. According to one participant, Carter declared: "I can win the primaries and I can win the nomination. But I can't win the election

without the support of blacks outside of Georgia." To get that support, Carter agreed to 1) appoint blacks—from a list submitted by the black Democrats—to the 14 policy task forces that are drawing up position papers for him on energy, foreign policy and other issues; 2) appoint no whites who are clearly unacceptable to the black community (that assurance was not explicitly stated but strongly hinted at); and 3) if elected, appoint blacks to key Cabinet and sub-Cabinet posts.

Hatcher pressed a difficult demand on Carter and the other candidates: "We gave the party 25% of its vote," said he (the figure was really close to 20%). "We want 25% of the action in the Cabinet, the convention and everywhere else." Although blacks account for only 11% of the U.S. population, Carter gave Hatcher a remarkable reply. While refusing to be pinned down on a specific number, he said: "I think that figure [25%] may be a little high, or it may be a little low." He

at least left the clear impression that a Carter Administration would be more heavily suffused with black influence than any other in U.S. history.

Carter clearly pleased his listeners. ("The man sure knows how to talk to black folks," said one participant.) But some delegates held out for a campaign to slow Carter down in hopes of making the black bloc more important at the nominating convention in New York. That general impulse, diffuse and uncoordinated now, probably accounts for the rousing response to California's Governor Jerry Brown when he appeared, along with Carter, Morris Udall and Frank Church, to address the conference.

**High Expectations.** The delegates cheered as Brown, 38, delivered a Kennedyesque advertisement for himself: "I represent the generation that came of age in the civil rights movement, in the antiwar Viet Nam movement... I come late, but I come unencumbered by the

baggage of the last ten years. I am new."

Many black politicians, especially on the West Coast, distrust Brown as a minimalist whose constant refrain is "People must lower their expectations." Said California Assemblyman Willie Brown, who drives a sporty Porsche: "My expectations have not been lowered. I still want my Turbo Carrera"—a reference to a supercharged GT model with a \$25,850 price tag. Nonetheless, Jerry drew cheers again when he pointed at Mervyn Dymally, California's black Lieutenant Governor, and shouted: "If I go to Washington, he goes to Sacramento. If I'm elected President, I will appoint the first black Governor in the United States." Unfortunately, the Governor was off on both his authority and his history. If Brown is elected President, Dymally will automatically succeed to the governorship. And during Reconstruction, P.B.S. Pinchback, a black man, served as acting Governor of Louisiana for 36 days.

## THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

### Yearning for Morality

Out on the prairies last week, Ronald Reagan missed few opportunities to reveal his indulgence in prayer and Bible reading. About the same time, California Governor Jerry Brown, the former Jesuit seminarian, was walking among the fishermen of Maryland's Eastern Shore, testing his presidential potential with scriptural overtones ("He who enters last shall be first").

It seems now to be an article of political faith that Americans want a man for President who reflects a strong and true strain of the basic precepts shared by our various religions. At the same time, Americans also seem to want their Presidents to retain a certain detachment from any one denomination.

Jimmy Carter is the fellow whose unabashed, if not totally strict Evangelicalism brought this all up. Is he exploiting his religion to gather delegates? Or is there some deeper national yearning that is moving people toward him as the first to express so openly his spirituality?

One who has pondered the question is Dean Francis Sayre of the Washington Cathedral, who a few days ago passed his 25th anniversary up on Mount St. Alban, which looks out over the capital. He is one of eleven people born in the White House (Jan. 17, 1915, in a small chamber near the Lincoln Bedroom), grandson of Woodrow Wilson, onetime secretary to F.D.R.'s political chief James Farley and friend or acquaintance of every President since then. The lanky Sayre has some of the Wilson profile and a lot of the inner fiber: he denounced McCarthyism, stood with the civil rights marchers, and marched to the

White House to protest Nixon's 1972 Christmas bombing of North Viet Nam. He has preached to Presidents, helped bury them, prayed with them and counseled them. He has put his cathedral into governmental life, opened the Gothic chasms to Methodists, Jews and Billy Graham. Dean Sayre is theologian, historian and a bit of a power broker. He is worried—but fascinated by the political drama all about him.

Our country was created by those people from a decaying Europe who sustained what he calls "vivid pockets of conscience." They established an ethical and moral government, he says, but not a government to be run by a monarch or a church. "Every aspect of our democracy comes from these vestigial remnants of that faith," the dean insists. Up until recently, as he sees things, we could take politicians of common stripe and at the moment of inaugural turn them into leaders who could justly be trusted with this moral heritage.

"Andy Jackson," muses Dean Sayre, "was a dirty old soldier before he came to the White House, and Lincoln, this fellow of the prairie, we've had no more religious leader in all our history. Wilson had a vision. Harry Truman, that haberdasher from Missouri, he was a towering figure of moral probity. American people expect it in our system, but the more recent Presidents have hardly been mindful of it."

At present, declares Sayre, Americans are wallowing, trying to recover what they had before Viet Nam and Watergate. It is not something that can be identified as Episcopal or Baptist. The dean sees people who are almost unmindful of issues, being drawn to someone like Jimmy Carter "because he is the one who most looks like he has this spiritual quality. Does he? I don't know."

Dean Sayre is sure that if Americans find a man of the proper moral dimensions, it will hardly matter whether he is liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat. "What will matter," he says, "is the passionate care that he brings to the White House."

DEAN SAYRE IN WASHINGTON'S NATIONAL CATHEDRAL



CHAS. M. HARRIS



## AMERICAN SCENE

## The Pilgrims in the Archives

Eighteen million visitors are expected in Washington during the Bicentennial year, and vast numbers of them will come to the massive National Archives Building at Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues to view America's historic documents, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. *TIME* Correspondent Don Sider joined the already long lines of visitors and sent this report:

The pilgrims pass in slow procession through the soft peach glow of the great rotunda, moving up to the shrinklike cases that hold the documents. Honey-mooners Karen and Philip pause for long moments. Bonnie, a senior on her class trip from Starbuck, Minn., traces with her fingertip the familiar signatures: G. Washington, B. Franklin, Prin-

Versailles, the Volstead Act, which established Prohibition in 1919; Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inaugural address, heralding the New Deal in 1933; the Japanese surrender instrument of 1945; the Marshall Plan of 1948.

They are only the tip of the treasure trove. Behind all this, on shelf after shelf, is the record of the republic. Washington's letters from the field are here, along with dispatches from his trusted aide Benedict Arnold and letters in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and John Hancock. "Whatever you touch is an original," marvels Assistant Archivist Albert Meisel. "That's the one! That's the piece of paper he signed!"

Every U.S. treaty is here and every law, the early ones stylishly engrossed on parchment, those from this century

► Exhibits from Navy judge advocate hearings, including assorted brass knuckles and knives, a meat cleaver, a blackjack, a broken billy club, a large pair of panties trimmed in lace and a still recognizable hamburger sandwich wrapped in brown paper. The hamburger somehow figured in the attempted seduction and death of a young woman aboard the U.S.S. *Dubouche* in 1940.

► Evidence from the Warren Commission's investigation of John F. Kennedy's death, including Lee Harvey Oswald's carbine, bullet fragments taken from the slain President's head and the "pristine bullet" believed to have passed through the President and John Connally without losing more than a fraction of its bulk, as well as the suit Kennedy wore that day in Dallas.

► A pair of pickled fingers, believed to have belonged to two U.S. businessmen captured by Mexican bandits in 1918 and sent to the U.S. consul at Mazatlan with a ransom demand for 5,000 Mexican dollars. The dutiful consul forwarded the fingers along with his report to Washington. The ransom was paid, and though one prisoner was freed, the other was shot trying to escape.

Although some of the more recent items are still classified, just about everything else is available for viewing. All one needs is a logical reason for wanting to see something, although would-be perusers are advised to call or write the Central Reference Division first.

**Just a Slur.** The archives' "search rooms" are used by up to 800 people a week. Barbara Tuchman worked there on her book about General Joseph Stilwell, former Senator Sam Ervin researched the Revolutionary War; Actor Robert Redford studied the Old West; Bruce Catton pored over Civil War records. Some of the researchers are looking up family trees. They go through ships' manifests to check on immigrant ancestors; census records (accessible only through 1900, to protect the privacy of the living); military records going back to the Revolutionary Army. Many blacks are clients, but the search for their forebears is often hampered by the pre-emancipation custom of listing slaves only by age and sex under the households of their masters.

The student of history's subtleties can find a million delights in the stacks. After years of reading federal documents, Staffer Mark Samuelson concludes that big, all-pervasive Government is really nothing new. Noting its role in the exploration and settling of the West, in building canals and roads and sponsoring the railroads, in raising armies, Samuelson says, "The Government has been there from the start." He has made another discovery. Every President, he finds, suffers a steady erosion in penmanship during his term. "When he starts out, it's very precise. I suppose he's conscious of everything he signs. Later on you can hardly read it. It's just a slur."



VIEWING DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OTHER DOCUMENTS  
"All the meaning and truth of the idea come together."

cipal Dennis Trump, shepherding 40 students from South Sioux City (Neb.) High, says with fervor, "It's a feeling of splendor to see the things you hold dear. All the meaning and truth of the whole idea come together."

Visiting the archives may be something of an act of national piety. It is also absolutely fascinating, especially now. Archivist of the U.S. James Rhoads has just opened an exhibit called "Milestone Documents of American History." From every corner of his 21-story attic, Rhoads has assembled and put on view priceless originals: the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803; the Homestead Act of 1862, which opened the West; the Monroe Doctrine (actually two widely spaced references in President James Monroe's 1823 annual message); the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863; patents for Eli Whitney's cotton gin (1794) and Alexander Graham Bell's telephone (1876); the 1919 Treaty of

prosaically printed on 10-in. by 15-in. paper with a red-ruled margin.

There is Richard Nixon's letter ("Dear Mr. Secretary: I hereby resign the office of President of the United States"). There is John C. Calhoun's gracious note from Columbia, S.C., dated 1832 ("Sir, Having concluded to accept of a seat in the Senate, to which I have been elected by the legislature of this state, I herewith resign the office of Vice President of the United States. Very respectfully, your obdvt."). Somewhat mysteriously, Spiro Agnew's letter of resignation never reached the archives.

More than 99% of the 3 billion items in the archives are papers. Along with them are some absurd, grisly and melancholy curiosities:

► The first Medal of Honor, awarded to the Union soldier who was the first to shoot a Confederate sympathizer, who was the first to shoot a Union officer in 1861.



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Introducing the '76 Dodge Colt Carousel (left) and Colt GT (right). With five-speed manual transmissions and 1600 cc engines they both got 37 MPG on the highway, 24 MPG in the city. And Colts come in three other models, too: Coupe, 4-door Sedan and 4-door Wagon. **Prices start at \$3,175.** (Base sticker price for a 1976 Colt Coupe. Not including taxes, destination charges, license and title fees and optional equipment. California prices slightly higher.)

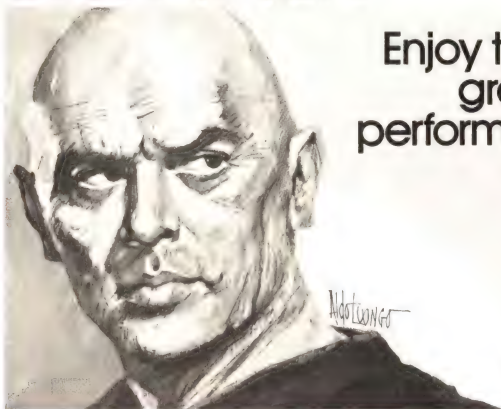


\*Silent Shaft available only with optional 2000 cc engine. Carousel model with Silent Shaft Engine requires optional automatic transmission.

\*\*EPA estimates for 1976 Dodge Colt GT and Carousel with 1600 cc engine and manual transmission. Your actual mileage may differ depending on how and where you drive, the condition of your car and its optional equipment. In California see your dealer for mileage data.



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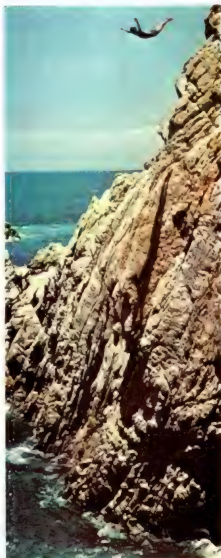
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CARDINAL URSI DISPLAYING SAN GENNARO'S BLOOD IN BETTER DAYS (1972); LEFTIST DEMONSTRATORS SCUFFLING IN MILAN

## THE WORLD

### ITALY

# Starting Out on a Journey of No Return

On their knees in Naples' Gothic cathedral, faithful worshipers waited devoutly for the city's periodic miracle to occur: in early May, as on his feast day in September, the hardened blood of San Gennaro is said to liquefy inside the sealed glass vial in which it has been preserved since the saint's 4th century martyrdom. This May, however, to the dismay and alarm of the worshipers, the blood of Naples' patron saint refused to move on schedule. According to tradition, this failure occurs only when disaster is imminent. That disaster might have been the earthquake that struck Northern Italy last week (see box following page). But Naples' Corrado Cardinal Ursi, calling for intensified prayer, identified the threat as "neopaganism," which his flock interpreted as an oblique but unmistakable reference to the rise of Italian Communism.

Last week, as strident campaign posters blossomed on walls and telephone poles all over Italy and politicians caucused to plot national election strategies, San Gennaro was not the nation's only leading indicator of disaster. The election was called one year ahead of schedule because a succession of weak center-left governments had been unable to solve the country's festering economic and social problems. It is an election that few politicians really want now. The early reading was that the Com-

munists would make parliamentary gains equal to or larger than their already sizable increase in power in regional elections last year, when they won 33.4% of the vote—and perhaps become partners in the next government. The prospect of Communists sharing national power for the first time since 1947 not only worried millions of Italians but also caused palpitations in Western Europe and the U.S.

**Two-Faced Promises.** The campaign was not due to start effectively until May 16, giving the candidates just five weeks before the two-day balloting commences on June 20. But already some dimensions of Italy's most critical election in 30 years were apparent.

The Christian Democrats, it seemed, intend to fight the campaign principally on a theme of two-faced Communist promises. In the past, many Italians voted Communist as a safe but telling protest vote against the Christian Democrats, who have held power—with decreasing effectiveness—alone or in coalition ever since World War II. But this time, with the Communists now obviously strong enough to share power nationally, many of those protest voters are afraid to mark their ballots for the Communists once more, and the Christian Democrats intend to play on this fear.

Stumping in Salerno last week in a pre-campaign warmup, the Christian

Democrats' party secretary, Benigno Zaccagnini, warned that any Communist victory, however narrow, would set Italy on "the road of no return." He added, "If I could be sure that the Communists, having been voted into power, would then turn around and leave it after an election defeat, I would not have any problems of principle." Thus Zaccagnini underlined a worry shared by many moderate voters: the Communists, who seemed earnest and engaging enough while they were only just seeking to build strength at the polls, might shift to a hard Leninist line and, having once gained power, refuse to surrender it again if they subsequently lost an election.

Communist leaders are as aware as Zaccagnini of this voter concern, and they appear to be making allowances for it even before the campaign formally opens. The posters for the Partito Comunista Italiano that appeared all over the country last week urged voters to choose the PCI and save Italy. The hammer and sickle symbol, however, was muted, as so far have been the campaign statements of party bosses. In a speech last week, Giorgio Napolitano, a top PCI leader, made a surprising and significant distinction between Communist goals this time round. "We say that Communist participation in national decisions is essential," Napolitano said. "A Com-



## THE WORLD

minist participation in the Cabinet itself would be desirable."

The distinction between what was essential and what was only desirable seemed to indicate that the Communist hierarchy still feels the time is not right to enter the government as ministers. Suddenly, they seemed more interested in a supporting role as members of the parliamentary majority that shapes national policy, with Cabinet seats to come later when the mass of middle-class voters has become accustomed to the "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats that Communists have been talking about since 1974. The Communist leaders could well be forced by their own followers, however, to join

the Christian Democrats in a coalition Cabinet.

Anxious to preserve good will with which to negotiate the historic compromise after the election, the edgy Communist leaders moved cautiously last week. They practically ignored new developments in their natural campaign issue: the economy. While other West Europeans were beginning to enjoy the passing, at long last, of a stubborn recession (see *ECONOMY & BUSINESS*), Italians had new gloomy statistics to ponder. The lira dropped to an alltime low of 920 to the dollar, despite heavy intervention by the Bank of Italy, which spent a reported \$1 billion to shore it up in March and April alone. Mean-

while, the balance of trade deficit, it was also announced, increased by \$1.5 billion in the year's first quarter, equivalent to the total deficit for all of last year, and imports will be severely curbed as a result. In an emergency late-night Cabinet meeting, caretaker Premier Moro reimposed crushing restrictions on foreign exchange movements. Among other measures, Italian travelers, who are already allowed to take only \$555 out of the country, henceforth must deposit half of that amount with the government 90 days ahead of any trip. That could make for a crowded summer in Italy, with citizens too put-upon to travel and foreigners rushing in to take advantage of the cheaper lira.

## Terror in the Tagliamento Valley

Tuning into Italian television's Channel 1 one night last week, viewers throughout Italy were treated to a bizarre sight. The time was 9 p.m., Europe's favorite TV hour; on the channel Economist Siro Lombardini was just settling down to discuss the nation's troubled economy. Suddenly chairs, set and people began to tremble. "*Il terremoto!*

*Io! Il terremoto!* [Earthquake! Earthquake!]" shouted a frightened cameraman. While thousands looked on in amazement, economist and TV crew made a live, unceremonious departure.

Most of the viewers by then had also begun to feel the tremors from Italy's worst earthquake since 1915. The epicenter was plotted in the Tagliamento River Valley, in the Dolomite foothills northeast of Venice, an Italian resort area and scene of bitter World War I battles. There 20 villages were badly battered by a light shock, followed by a major quake that lasted 55 seconds and measured a severe 6.9 on the Richter Scale; eleven more lesser tremors followed over a three-hour period. More than 700 people were killed under falling rubble before the shocks subsided.

Like ripples on a pond, the shock waves of Tagliamento quivered outward in a broad circle. In Venice, the campanile of St. Mark's trembled and the lagoon waters suddenly roiled. In Pisa, the Leaning Tower vibrated—but held its precarious tilt. On the Venice-Vienna railroad line, a train suddenly derailed as the tracks weaved out from under it. Shakes and masonry cracks were reported

as far away as Frankfurt, Munich and the French town of Nancy.

Italian seismic experts had been expecting something to happen, but they had no way of telling precisely where, when or how badly. After the disaster, Professor Raffaele Bendandi of the Faenza Geophysical Laboratory reported that seven or eight days before "the ground in northeastern Italy rose by 7.75 in., according to our instruments. This was a sign that we could expect some sort of tremor." The area along the Tagliamento is earthquake country of a sort. At the Geophysical and Astronomical Observatory in Monteporzio, Scientist Mariaecilia Spadea had already measured 20 or 30 minor shocks there this year. But, she said, "there was no history of severe earthquakes there in this century. It would have been impossible to predict a catastrophe like this."

For the survivors of the quake, part of the terror was the unexpectedness of the tremors on a warm spring evening and the fact that they began in darkness. "We had just turned on the TV after dinner," said one resident of Buia (pop. 8,000). "At first I thought it was a truck passing. But then the roof caved in on my mother. She died instantly." In neighboring Maiano (pop. 6,200), hit hardest by the earthquake, a trattoria collapsed on 40 customers dining inside. With power gone and no lights to work by, rescuers could do little more than pull blindly at the wreckage and listen to the screams and moans of the buried survivors.

The battered villages did have the minor good fortune to lie in a military garrison zone, next to the Yugoslav border, where some 32,000 soldiers were quickly mustered for rescue duty. Shortly before 5 a.m., as first light began to break, Italian and U.S. helicopters joined forces to fly out the injured. At week's end, as strong new tremors hit the area, the rescuers were still hauling corpses out of the rubble and the death toll seemed certain to go much higher.



GIRL, AGED 4 (WITH DOLL), KILLED BY QUAKE





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## FRANCE

# Giscard: The Hard Road to Reform

It was a brief but telling European family spat. Asked on television recently about the Communist electoral threat in Italy, West Germany's blunt Chancellor Helmut Schmidt suggested that Communist parties are really a problem only in countries where there is "reactionary clinging to old forms and old attitudes"—citing, among other examples, France. Then, in a published interview which appeared last week, Schmidt added that he did not want Communists coming to power in places like Italy and France, but if they did get government roles, it would not necessarily be a catastrophe. That was more than an irritated Paris could take. Premier Jacques Chirac rose in the National Assembly to register "astonishment" at Schmidt's "thoughtless remarks."

**Six-Day Tour.** President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who is scheduled to begin a six-day U.S. tour next week, surely did not care to be reminded of the growing strength of the French left, and Schmidt's remark about "old forms and old attitudes" could hardly have pleased him. When he took over the Elysee Palace almost exactly two years ago, Giscard hoped to bring about in his seven-year term a smooth transition from the encrusted look that French politics had assumed after 16 years of Gaullist domination.

Giscard took office emphasizing his differences with the conservative Gaullists and promising reforms that would turn France into "an advanced liberal society." To some extent, he has deliv-

ered, with such modern trappings as liberal divorce, abortion (almost on demand) and the vote for 18-year-olds. He has also successfully softened the authoritarian style of his predecessors, wearing business suits when De Gaulle or Pompidou would have appeared in morning coats and sharing an occasional meal at the homes of ordinary French people. But the novelty of Giscard's consciously unimperial style has long since worn off, and he has lately had to deal with a realization that among most of his voters, his most appealing quality

was not his pledge of change but his parallel promise of continuity.

Giscard's attempted reforms have hurt him with his own party, his abortion measure, for example, was opposed by many members of his centrist, multi-party coalition and got through parliament mainly through the support of opposition Deputies. At the same time, Giscard's early beckonings to the left failed to draw much support among the Socialists, who have become the largest party on the French left. Despite Giscard's innovations, real government and parliamentary power still lies with the old guard. Says Pierre Castagnou, 35, a Parisian catering-company executive whose views are typical of many young French professionals: "Giscard is the



PARISIAN PAINTER WITH FAMILIAR SUBJECT



MAY DAY DEMONSTRATORS

## 'Much Depends on France'

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing last week discussed his views of France and the world with TIME Managing Editor Henry Grunwald and Paris Bureau Chief Gregory Wierzynski. Excerpts from their conversation:

**Q. Could you give us a balance sheet of your first two years in office?**

**A.** On the positive side, I have succeeded in maintaining France in peace—political and social—for two years. Secondly, I have succeeded in persuading the French public that I want to conduct a transformation of French society. When I was elected, they hardly believed me. They thought it was an electoral tactic. Now they are convinced.

On the negative side, it has not been possible to shield our economy as much as I would have liked from the world economic crisis, and reforms have not yet been pushed far enough for the public to appreciate their positive character.

**Q. Are you convinced that France wants to be reformed?**

**A.** Absolutely, and if the choice were put in simple terms—"Do you want to keep France as it is"—the conservative position would not receive more than 40% of the vote. France has always had a certain difficulty in deciding on reforms, but once the reforms are made, the people are surprised that these changes were not done earlier.

**Q. In the last local elections the left won 53% of the vote. Why is there such a strong socialist trend in France today?**

**A.** At present what is called socialism here reflects two currents—a socialist trend and a flow of general discontent. Together these currents amount to the percentage that you cite. But when economic recovery moderates the flow of discontent, the position of the Socialist Party as a whole will be less important. Furthermore, there are two tenden-

cies of roughly equal importance within the Socialist Party: one that favors social democratic solutions, and the other, which strongly supports an alliance with the Communists. One of the key problems of French political life is the relationship between these two parts of the Socialist Party.

**Q. Do you agree with Secretary Kissinger's concern that if the Communists shared power in Italy there could be dangerous reverberations in, say, Spain, Greece and perhaps Portugal? Do you fear a north-south split in Europe?**

**A.** There is an unfortunate temptation to separate Europe into north and south, to envision the north with liberal or social democratic governments that actively manage their societies and a lower tier governed by socialist and Communist alliances that will perpetuate the south as a less developed zone.

There are no serious reasons to state that southern European democracies will be governed by socialist-Communist alliances. It is true that in the Latin part of Europe, which includes France, po-

only true reformer in his coalition. He would like to be the social democratic President of France, but his electorate won't allow him to make fundamental reforms. The result is that he only talks reforms."

Though Giscard remains confident that his political situation is manageable (see box), some of his own political allies are not sure. The left captured 53% of the total vote in local elections last March, including 26% for the Socialists and 23% for the Communists. Recent polls suggest that Socialist-Communist Union of the Left candidates will win a majority of the races in the 1978 parliamentary elections. If they do, Giscard, whose own term as President runs until 1981, may be forced to appoint a Pre-

mier from the left. The result, many French politicians believe, could be a paralyzing deadlock between the President and a hostile parliamentary majority, leading to a flight of capital, street demonstrations, strikes and, perhaps, the collapse of the Fifth Republic.

**Real Reforms.** These possibilities will remain if more and more Frenchmen become persuaded that only the left can accomplish a program of real reforms. Giscard's ability to prove them wrong is in doubt: politically, he has lately begun to pedal back to the right. Recently he awarded his Premier the title of "coordinator and animator" of the presidential majority parties in the Assembly. Because "Bulldozer" Chirac, 43, is a committed Gaullist, his new job was

a signal that Giscard now sees more need to regain the conservative voters he has scared off than to continue to try to recruit new strength from the left. France's recovery from its bout with recession and inflation—down from a rate of 15% two years ago to just under 10% today—may help limit the erosion of Giscard's support. But he faces a difficult long-term task in persuading France's voters that the time has not yet come to give the left a chance to rule.

## BRITAIN

### The 4½% Solution

Rarely if ever before had a British Labor Party heavyweight made such a boast. Yet last week Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey was fairly cheering that the pay raises his countrymen would receive in the year beginning Aug. 1 are "likely to be below those in probably all Western developed countries." Healey's seemingly perverse enthusiasm was not misplaced: his negotiations achieved a union wage accord that was a needed early triumph for Prime Minister James Callaghan's five-week-old government.

The victory was written into a new pay-policy agreement concluded by the government and leaders of the powerful Trades Union Congress that aims at slashing Britain's inflation rate (currently 12%) by combining a tough 4½% average limit on wage hikes with a cut in taxes (see *ECONOMY & BUSINESS*).

The T.U.C.'s leaders accepted the austere pay formula, recognizing that failure to do so would almost certainly



GISCARD GESTURING DURING INTERVIEW LAST WEEK

litical tensions are strong. But in these countries, social and political stability is stronger than people usually think. France links these two parts of Europe, and thus its own behavior will be important for its southern neighbors. Much depends on France.

**Q. Many Europeans say that Communists in Italy and possibly in France should be believed when they say they will be faithful to NATO and would accept a mixed economy. Do you agree?**

**A.** To implement the program of the left would bring economic disorders. Logic does exist in politics, and logic is stronger than statements. Communists in power will conform to their doctrine, which obviously does not endorse free enterprise, participation in NATO or the construction of a united Europe. Even if the Communists' language seems more moderate today, their basic principles remain the same.

**Q. What could other Europeans do if Communists came to power in Rome?**

**A.** Other Europeans could do nothing.

We have a tradition of nonintervention.

**Q. What should the U.S. do?**

**A.** It would be a mistake for the U.S. to interfere in what is considered here an internal problem. On the other hand, it is normal that Washington make known the consequences a change in the political situation of Italy would have on its own policies.

**Q. Are Western democracies increasingly besieged by Marxist gains around the world, or is this an illusion?**

**A.** Our political and economic system is not doomed. Market-oriented economies retain an obvious advantage in their economic capabilities and in the field of individual freedom. One should not confuse the rise of nationalism, particularly in decolonized countries, with the choice they make of a political or economic system. A freshly decolonized rural country can hardly be expected to choose the free-enterprise system of modern industrialized states. But this does not mean that later on these new countries will be unfriendly.

**Q. In the long run, can the non-Communist industrial countries satisfy the demands of their people, control inflation and keep their democratic institutions intact?**

**A.** In a world without too many confrontations, yes. But in a world where there are acute and strong confrontations, it will be difficult. We must and will succeed. France has reached a standard of living that makes dealing with the problem easier. It is more difficult in countries that are no longer underdeveloped but have not reached the \$2,000 to \$3,000 per capita income level. In these countries, active social policies are necessary in order to reduce privileges, unify social classes and so on.

**Q. Do you approve of the Ford-Kissinger détente policy?**

**A.** Yes. Détente assumes maintenance of a balance of power that is perceived by each side as unquestionable. The alternative to détente is confrontation and the risk of war. I do not believe that can be the only policy.

## THE WORLD

mean a continued double-digit inflation that erodes worker purchasing power faster than pay raises can keep up with it—the disease that has forced British governments into stop-go cycles of inflation and recession since the early 1960s. Exclaimed T.U.C. Chief Len Murray: "It is the best news for many a long day in Britain." Healey credited the agreement to public exasperation with inflation. "People got sick and tired of being paid in confetti."

Callaghan can probably count on strong popular support for the new policy. Recent polls suggest that as much as 70% of the country backs tax relief in return for stringent pay restraint. Even the Tories approved; Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Conservatives' shadow Chancellor, admitted that the plan reflected "a greater sense of realism."

Monumental problems still confront Callaghan. Because two Labor M.P.s died in the past month and a third quit the party, Labor's ruling bloc has lost its thin majority in the House of Commons, where it now holds 313 of the 631 seats. Labor still maintains a 38-seat edge over the Tories and can count on a few votes from the minor parties to enable it to continue governing, but it may lose its grip on the important committee chairmanships. The Tories, moreover, demonstrated impressive muscle in last week's balloting for town and district councilmen in England and Wales. Of the nearly 16,000 members elected, the Conservatives picked up more than 1,000 new seats. Labor gained only 15 new seats. While not too much should be read into these results—the party holding national power usually loses ground in local races—they will probably make Callaghan even more resistant than he has been to advice from some members of his Cabinet to call for national elections this summer. (The latest polls give Labor a 6% lead over the Tories.)

**Deft Leadership.** Although there is little doubt that a special T.U.C. conference, called for next month, will approve the new pay policy, the Callaghan government must exercise deft leadership to ensure that the voluntary restraints are not breached. If the government seems unable to make the wage agreement stick, the run on the pound, which stabilized at about \$1.83 last week, could continue. Since this would boost Britain's bill for imported raw materials and food, it could quash London's hope for a real recovery.

Still, the pay agreement has a good chance of holding, primarily because the T.U.C. seems ready to remain the government's ally in the fight against inflation. Moreover, if the unions begin getting out of hand, Callaghan can always play his trump—daring the union leaders to withdraw their support for his Cabinet, a move that could open the door to a Tory government. That is something union leaders evidently fear even more than their Labor Prime Minister's 4½% inflation solution.

## DIPLOMACY

# Toward a Third World Bank

It was the very model of a modern diplomatic safari to black Africa. There was a forceful policy speech reading the riot act to southern Africa's white minority regimes, friendly talks with black moderates and a long tête-à-tête with Senegal's Post-President Léopold Senghor—not to mention the prescribed attack of gastroenteritis, glimpses of giant cape buffalo bellowing in the moonlight and a cargo hold full of souvenirs in the big U.S. Air Force 707. Then Henry Kissinger, increasingly caught in the political crossfiring back home, climaxed his two-week African tour with a series of sweeping proposals to help bridge the gap between the world's rich and poor.

► Formation of an American technology corps to work with local personnel in development projects.

► Reduction of tariff barriers between rich and poor nations.

► A commitment to help stabilize prices of basic commodities by producer-consumer conferences.

The centerpiece of Kissinger's speech was a billion-dollar International Resources Bank, designed to encourage increased private investment in developing nations, particularly those that international companies might ordinarily consider poor business risks. The bank's essential features would be that it could be used as a mechanism to stabilize

prices of commodities and guarantee investments. In Kissinger's view, such a bank, which would be financially backed by the industrialized and oil-producing countries, would serve as a conduit between private foreign investors and host countries, handling key negotiations, including fair profit-sharing arrangements.

**Ongoing Dialogue.** Kissinger's speech was an important step in keeping the dialogue going that Washington initiated with the Third World at the U.N. last fall. Still, it fell short of meeting the proposals the Group of 77, as UNCTAD's working caucus is called, drafted at its February meeting in Manila. The Group had urged, among other things, acceptance by consuming countries of a plan to link or "index" prices of raw materials to increases in the cost of industrial products—an arrangement that might only fan worldwide inflation. The Group had also wanted a general debt rescheduling for the poorest countries; largely because of rising oil prices, their international borrowing has soared in the past

few years, burdening them with heavy debt payments. Kissinger argued that the new bank would help take care of the commodities problem. Debt rescheduling, he said, should be handled on a case-by-case basis.

Given the intricacies of the proposals, reaction was generally cautious, although on balance favorable. Said a Kenyan official: "What's important is not Kissinger's specifics right now, but the evidence that the U.S. seems sincere about helping us with our crushing problems." Added an Iranian delegate: "Kissinger went a long way toward meeting the position of the poor nations."

The Secretary's proposals will not become concrete programs overnight.



KISSINGER AT KENYA GAME RESERVE  
Even a plan to turn back the desert.

The setting was the elegant Kenyatta Conference Center in Nairobi, where 3,000 delegates from 124 countries had gathered for the quadrennial meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Kissinger had earlier come out in support of a \$7.5 billion development project to "turn back the desert" in the drought-stricken Sahel region of West Africa. His Nairobi speech laid out a comprehensive program to deal with the fundamental problems of development in poor lands everywhere. His recommendations included plans for:

► Sharing in American satellite technology, which can be useful in forecasting crops, evaluating natural disasters and improving land use.



The U.S. contribution to the resources bank—\$200 million—would have to be appropriated by Congress, for example, and other Western participants would have to get similar domestic approval. Kissinger himself foresaw "several weeks of discussion [at UNCTAD], some of which could become quite acrimonious, because there are many nations here that do not agree with our approach, which stresses free enterprise and individual initiative." But at the minimum, he could add, his proposals would keep the wary, halting but vital, new dialogue between rich and poor nations going.

## LEBANON

### Election Under Fire

Bitter new fighting erupted in Lebanon late last week after Lebanese parliamentarians braved mortar fire from leftist forces to elect a new President to replace Suleiman Franjeh, the embattled Christian leader who two weeks ago conditionally agreed to step down. Franjeh's replacement had been a major leftist condition for negotiations to end the 13-month-old civil war between Christians and Moslems, which has taken 16,000 lives. But fearing that Elias Sarkis, the Syrian-backed candidate, would win the election, Moslem forces launched a last-ditch effort to prevent the voting.

Shortly before the Parliament was to convene on Saturday morning, artillery and machine-gun fire reverberated throughout the capital of Beirut. House Speaker Kamal Assad was forced to drive to the session guarded by a six-truck convoy of troops; other Deputies were escorted by gunmen from their own local militias. The Mediterranean villa that serves as a temporary Parliament itself came under heavy fire—though no one was hurt. Still, the fighting failed to deter a quorum of 69 out of 98 members of Parliament from convening. While mortars exploded all around, Sarkis, 51, who is governor of Lebanon's Central Bank, won the presidency on the second ballot, after having failed to get the requisite two-thirds majority on the first ballot.

**Respected Technocrat.** Like Franjeh, who had supported his election, Sarkis is from the Maronite Christian community, which has dominated Lebanon's government and economy since the country became independent at the end of World War II. A respected technocrat who has been described as a "rightist with socialist ideas," he is credited, as head of the Central Bank, with restoring confidence in the country's banking system after the Intra Bank crash of 1966. A candidate in the last presidential election in 1970, Sarkis lost to Franjeh by only one vote.

Much as Leftist Leader Kamal Jumblatt and his National Movement want-



P.L.A. TROOPER OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT AFTER ELECTION



PRESIDENT-ELECT ELIAS SARKIS

ed Franjeh out of the presidency, they feared Sarkis' election because of his reputed receptiveness to an increased Syrian military presence to restore order in Lebanon. After succeeding in getting the election postponed for one week, Jumblatt and his choice for President, Raymond Eddé, 63, a Christian who had opposed Syrian intervention, kept up a running drumfire last week to delay the election until what they called Syrian "pressure" to secure Sarkis' election had ended. When they failed to halt the proceedings, both Eddé and his supporters boycotted the session.

The week began with heavy fighting in the Beirut port area. Leftist forces launched an offensive aimed at seizing tall buildings from which their guns could dominate the harbor, now held by Christian fighters. For a brief time in midweek, it looked as if the two sides had decided to put down their guns and stop fighting in a spontaneous cease-fire. While red-bereted Palestine Liberation Army troops took up positions in a buffer zone between the warring factions, Moslem and Christian soldiers met and drank beer together and even played a little football.

But all too soon it became clear that neither football nor a new face at the helm was going to be enough to end the bloodletting. That would only come with a political solution satisfactory to all. With that in mind, Syrian President Hafez Assad conferred late last week with Jordan's King Hussein, who has backed Sarkis' attempts to get a cease-fire. Franjeh, meanwhile, revealed that he had been working on a plan whereby the U.S., France, Syria and Saudi Arabia would guarantee a settlement. Whether Sarkis will proceed with that plan remains an open question.

## MIDDLE EAST

### More West Bank Blues

For the fourth time in six months, Israel last week was hauled before a United Nations panel to answer charges of cruelty to Arabs and Zionist expansion. The scene, as often before, was the 15-member Security Council, where Egypt accused Israel of "brutal and illegal actions" against the 650,000 Palestinians on the occupied Jordan West Bank. Zehdi Labib Terzi, U.N. Spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization, urged the council to demand immediate Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank. Terzi's request, if adopted, would certainly provoke another U.S. veto.

**Cairo Friendship.** Israeli U.N. Ambassador Chaim Herzog dismissed Egypt's move as "a game of one-upmanship with Syria." Herzog's point was well made. Cairo and P.L.O. Leader Yasser Arafat have been feuding since September over Egypt's Sinai agreement with Israel. But lately Arafat has been even madder at Syrian efforts to impose peace in Lebanon and install a pro-Syrian President there, reducing the P.L.O.'s influence in the country. Suddenly last week the P.L.O. announced from Beirut that it had restored friendship with Cairo, and Egyptian Ambassador Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid went before the Security Council on behalf of the West Bank Palestinians.

Even as they rebuffed the newest Arab attack publicly, however, Israeli officials privately fretted over their continuing problems in the U.N. Said an Israeli diplomat in Jerusalem: "These debates will not suffocate us, but they are difficult for us. They have already legitimized the P.L.O. and branded Isra-



STEEL GATES ERECTED BY ISRAELIS IN NABLUS TO ENFORCE CURFEW



DEAD WEST BANKER & RELATIVES  
A measure of truth.

el as an outcast, and they are causing erosion of the U.S. position." Herzog is now under orders to answer every charge instead of merely boycotting sessions where the P.L.O. appears. Israel is concerned that the U.S., having vetoed two previous anti-Israel Security Council resolutions, is becoming so exposed diplomatically as Jerusalem's only friend that Americans may soon question the wisdom of this role and step up criticism of Israeli behavior on the West Bank.

Part of the problem is that the Arab charges contain a measure of truth. For

nearly a decade, Jerusalem has touted the West Bank occupation as a model exercise. But today, the cumulative effects of nine years of occupation, rising Palestinian nationalism and Israeli moves toward permanent occupation are all contributing to rising tension. Arabs are alarmed by rumors of secret land purchases and the belligerent attempts of religious Jews to establish unauthorized settlements in these biblical lands. The most aggressive is Gush Emunim (the Group of Faith), whose settlement attempts and mass marches (TIME, May 3) are a major reason for violent Arab counterdemonstrations.

**Seven Dead.** To Israel's discomfort, West Bankers voted heavily for pro-P.L.O. candidates in municipal elections sponsored by Jerusalem last month. Since February, West Bank towns have been rocked almost daily by protest strikes and demonstrations. With government permission—"We must maintain law and order," Premier Yitzhak Rabin insists—troops broke up demonstrations roughly and cordoned off whole towns under curfew. Seven West Bank Arabs have been killed so far in clashes between soldiers and demonstrators.

Rabin's government has been slow to deal with the Arab complaints. For one thing, the ultra-conservative National Religious Party has threatened to bring down the government if he moves against Gush Emunim. Consideration of reforms on the Israelis' part is often foreclosed by new episodes of Arab terrorism. Last week, just as Israel was about to commence its 28th Independence Day celebrations, five pounds of dynamite on a parked motorcycle exploded in Jerusalem's theater district, injuring 30 bystanders.

## CHILE

### Mercy Flight

Treasury Secretary William Simon announced his unusual mission casually enough. During an early-morning appearance on NBC's *Today* show, he noted that he was about to take off for a visit to South America and hoped, by the way, to secure the release of "quite a few" of the political prisoners still languishing in the jails of Chile's right-wing military regime. He succeeded. By the time Simon's Air Force jet landed in Santiago for his ten-hour visit there, the Chileans had quietly agreed to free some 300 detainees, among them two former ministers in the ill-fated Marxist government of Salvador Allende Gossens. In a brief airport talk, Simon pointedly noted that U.S. aid to the regime "will be handicapped if there is not a clearer understanding of how the Chileans are ensuring that human rights are respected."

Samaritanism is not in the regular line of duty at Treasury, but the U.S. is willing to try unorthodox tactics these days to pressure General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte into loosening up his regime. Chile needs cash; this year payments of principal and interest on its foreign debt will total \$800 million, or 43% of the country's expected export earnings, and the economy is barely limping along *see* ECONOMY & BUSINESS. Yet few outside leaders have been willing to help out in the face of international condemnation—most recently, by the United Nations Human Rights Commission—of detention and torture of Chilean political prisoners. So last month when Chilean Finance Minister Jorge Cauas was in Washington seeking a \$100 million loan, the Administration saw a way of combining humanitarian and diplomatic ends. Thus the Simon trip was arranged.

**Full Prisons.** While the Secretary's mission was extraordinary, there have been some precedents for this kind of trading with Chile. In 1974 the regime freed 117 prisoners in return for a release of phosphate shipments blocked by Mexico, and another 150 were let go in response to a \$50 million investment promised by Rumania. Many such deals would be required to clear Chile's jails of the estimated 5,000 to 6,000 political detainees remaining in them. The regime, which has defended its full prisons on the grounds of continuing danger from Marxist conspirators, has begun to slow down the pace of arrests; they have declined from 100 to 150 a month last year to about 50 a month recently. More than half of those arrested in the past several months have been released. The government has also promised to discuss civil liberties soon with a working group from the Human Rights Commission, whose report cited Chile's secret police for "inhuman, cruel and degrading treatment" of political dissidents.

## Saved from Death

In a sepulchral chamber hidden beneath Florence's Medici Chapel, accessible only through a trap door and a winding staircase, Sabino Giovannoni scraped away at the accumulated layers of soot, grime and whitewash. Slowly, almost reluctantly, the face of a woman began to emerge, a primeval woman who looked remarkably like the Eve in the Sistine Chapel. After several hours, Giovannoni telephoned Medici Chapels Director Paolo dal Poggetto. "Come over quickly," he said. "We've got something important here."

What they had was a major discovery—the world's only group of mural sketches by Michelangelo Buonarroti, more than 50 large drawings, done in charcoal on the rough plaster of the walls and inadvertently protected by later whitewashing against age, flaking and the 1966 flood. After several months of restoration, the discovery is being exhibited in Florence this week.

**Tourist Swarms.** Like many such discoveries, the Michelangelo works were found partly by accident. For years, Dal Poggetto and his colleagues have been worrying about the crowds of tourists—sometimes 4,000 a day—who come swarming into the chapel to see the seven brooding marble statues that Michelangelo carved to commemorate the Dukes Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici. There is only one door for the tourists to enter and leave the chapel by way of the crypt.

Dal Poggetto began wondering whether he could devise some alternative entry through one of the chapel's other doors. There are eight in all, two on each wall, but four of them are blank. A sealed door leads to the adjacent Church of San Lorenzo, and the last two open into small unused rooms on either side of the altar (Michelangelo called them *lavamani*, or washrooms). One of these *lavamani* had traces of various 16th century sketches under its old whitewash. The other had a trap door in its floor leading to a long, narrow storeroom. Perhaps, Dal Poggetto thought, the storeroom could become another exit to the street. But before digging into the walls, he assigned Restorer Giovannoni to take "soundings" by scratching away a few test layers of whitewash.

What Giovannoni found was that Michelangelo had evidently used the walls as a big doodling sheet, filling them with visual reflections on projects past and to come. They appear to be a sketch for the legs of Duke Giuliano, a risen Christ striding forward from a wall by the staircase, a figure of Zacharias writing the name of John the Baptist on a tablet at the prompting of an angel, a memory of the Laocöon—the great Hellenistic figure group that had so im-

pressed Michelangelo when he saw it, newly dug up from a vineyard, in Rome. Though a few of the sketches may be by Michelangelo's assistants, the authenticity of most of them was accepted by nearly all the experts who visited the room as restorers brought them to light. Says Professor Herbert Keutner, director of the German Art History Institute in Florence: "Their discovery was the most wonderful and amazing surprise for Michelangelo's anniversary." (Buonarroti was born in 1475.)

**Cutthroat Foiled.** But what were the drawings doing in that narrow chamber? Dal Poggetto has a theory. In 1527 the Medici, who had virtually become kings, were expelled from Florence by a wave of republican sentiment. When the Medici resumed their grip on the city in 1530, a purge of republicans followed, and a cutthroat named Alessandro Corsini was hired to murder Michelangelo—who had vocally sided with the republican cause. According to an old tradition, the great sculptor, who was then at work on the Medici tombs, hid in the bell tower of a church on the other side of the Arno. But ten years ago, a memoir was discovered in the handwriting of Giovanni Battista Figiovanni, the prior of San Lorenzo who was in charge of the Medici tombs project. "I saved him from death," the prior wrote of Michelangelo, "and I saved his belongings too." It was in this very room—well hidden by its trap door, but at street level and adequately lit, even furnished with a cistern for water—that the prior, Dal Poggetto argues, hid the sculptor during the fall of 1530.

Before those weeks of refuge, Figiovanni wrote, Michelangelo had been impossible to deal with; he was a man "with whom Job would not have kept his renowned patience for even one day." After it, "Michelangelo asked me pardon a thousand times." No doubt he was

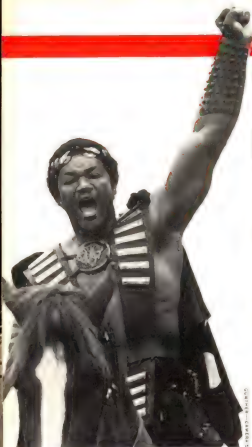
immensely relieved to be out in the air again, and carving. The drawings he left on the walls—evidently done behind shutters at night, for his lines are in places visibly interrupted by the grease from guttering candles—were a means of passing the time during that irritating concealment. They are not among the sculptor's greater works, but anything by Michelangelo's hand is, needless to say, of interest.

Only one problem now remains for Dal Poggetto. Since the general public cannot be let into the storeroom containing the drawings (the space is too confined, the risk of damage too large), he will have to find yet another exit-corridor from the Medici tombs. And for the moment, there seems to be none.



MICHELANGELO SKETCH MAY BE CHRIST RISEN





GEORGE FOREMAN POSTURES IN GLADIATOR'S GARB

BOB WOODWARD



SOAP STAR LOUISE LASSER NEARLY SENDS MARY HARTMAN DOWN THE DRAIN

"Gladiators were the supreme fighters," says **Joe Frazier**, trying his mightiest to explain why he and fellow Heavyweight **George Foreman** were suited up like Roman combatants to hype interest in their June 15 bout. The idea for the gladiator setup came from Fight Promoter **Jerry Perenchio**, who borrowed two outfits that had been used in MGM's 1959 film *Ben Hur*. Perenchio's costuming may be entirely apt, but his choice of battleground is far from Rome. Foreman and Frazier will square off at the Coliseum all right—the one in Nassau County, N.Y.

She agreed to star in the Soviet-American film *The Blue Bird*, recalled **Elizabeth Taylor**, 44, because "I wanted to help build the relationship between Russia and the United States." Maybe, but when Liz went to Washington, D.C., for the movie's premiere last week, she seemed far more interested in improving her relationship with Iranian Ambassador **Ardeshtir Zahedi**, 48. Taylor, who first met the bachelor ambassador at one of his lavish capital parties last month, arrived this time as a guest in his sumptuous embassy residence. Hand in hand, the pair took a tour of dinner parties and luncheons, and one evening they passed up a *Blue Bird* cast party for a trip to Rosecroft Raceway, a nearby harness track. There Liz found occasion to sit in Zahedi's lap, snuggle under his cape as they awaited the moment to make a trophy presentation, and demurely decline the chance to pose in a sulky when he suggested it might be dangerous for her. (The thought must have amused horse fancier Taylor, who rode to fame aboard National Velvet in 1944.) By week's end, friends of Zahedi were suggesting the ambassador was genuinely smitten and that Liz was the bluebird of happiness.

As the pigtailed, problem-prone housewife on TV's *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, Actress **Louise Lasser**, 37, has coped with a mass murderer, a philandering husband and romantic overtures from her sister's fiancé. But few of her on-screen acts would match one off-screen performance last week. The woe began when she set out to buy a birthday gift for the daughter of a friend, and a Beverly Hills boutique, The Rainbow, told her it could not handle her credit card. Lasser persisted and police were called. They took Mary Mary quite contrary to the station house when a routine check showed she had failed to pay two traffic fines—negligence that is frowned on in California. Next, a search of her purse and the not-so-routine discovery of a tiny vial of cocaine. Lasser, who returned to work after posting \$1,631 bail, faces penalties ranging from probation to ten years in prison if convicted of drug possession.

When he was charged last December with extorting a \$25,000 contribution, West Virginia Governor **Arch A. Moore Jr.**, charged in turn that **John A. Field III**, the Federal prosecutor pressing the case, was conducting "a vicious political vendetta" in order "to feed his personal ambitions." Last week the Republican Governor stood vindicated after a jury in Charleston, W. Va., found him innocent. Said a tearful, defiant Moore: "An apology is due the citizens of this state."

Nobody fainted, and nobody threw jelly beans the way they did in the old days of Beatlemania. Still, when ex-Beatle **Paul McCartney**, 33, Wife **Linda** and his band Wings tuned up at Fort Worth, the opening stop of a seven-week tour of the States, the reception was raucous rock 'n' roll. For his first U.S. per-



ZAHEDI NUZZLES DURING HIS FLING WITH LIZ





WINGS PILOT PAUL MCCARTNEY FLIES HIGH IN TEXAS AT THE START OF HIS TOUR

formance in a decade, McCartney offered a few golden oldies from his songwriting days with **John Lennon**, and more than two-dozen works that he has recorded with Wings since the Beatles disbanded six years ago. It was McCartney, as much as his music, that the 14,000 Fort Worth fans had come to hear, and they delivered a 15-minute standing ovation before a note had been played. "I used to get more nervous with the Beatles," allowed Paul calmly after his triumphant opening night. "I was younger, I guess."

A Broadway musical based on 100 years of White House history seemed like a Yankee Doodle dandy idea. And 1600 *Pennsylvania Avenue* would have the services of **Leonard** (*West Side Story*) **Bernstein**, **Alan Jay** (*My Fair Lady*) **Lerner**, a Bicentennial theme and almost \$1 million in backing from the Coca-Cola Co. Alas, a pre-Broadway tour met with disastrous reviews. Despite considerable reworking, when the show opened last week in New York City it was plain that Coke had bought fizzle, not fizz. Observed **TIMI** Theater Critic **Ted Kalem**: "The British burned the White House in 1812, and Lerner and Bernstein are running the fire sale." After seven performances, Producer **Roger Stevens** shuttered 1600. Not even Leading Man **Ken Howard**, who was praised for his portrayal of ten different Presidents, seemed saddened by the closing. "It was the most painful and torturous experience I've had in the theater," he reflected. "There was a rewrite every day, and we were doing new material every night. There was just no room for any creative effort."

"He was formerly Vice President of the United States," says the dust jacket on *The Canfield Decision*, offering the

most succinct description possible of the novel's author. And he was formerly the nattering nemesis of network television as well. Now neither, **Spiro Agnew** has been all but inescapable in TV studios lately as he tapes interviews with **Dinah Shore**, **Merv Griffin** and **Mike Douglas**—not as an erstwhile politician, but as a self-promoter of his book about a liberal-leaning Vice President with eyes for the top job. "The real driving need to write *The Canfield Decision* was making a living," Spiro told Merv, claiming that he was left "totally penniless" after his 1973 legal problems and subsequent disbarment. In fact, had it not been for his old buddy **Frank Sinatra**, he said, "I don't think I could have survived that time." Sinatra made Agnew a "substantial" loan, and "at the height of my troubles, he called me on the phone every day just to say, 'How are things? Anything I can do for you?' You don't find many friends like that." Well, how about his old boss, former President **Nixon**? "I haven't seen him," said Agnew. "And I have no desire to see him."

"George Jessel is a very sexy man," coos **Edy Williams**, 33, breathy-voiced, barely talented star of soft-porn cinema (*Vixen*) and former wife of X-Rated moviemaker **Russ Meyer**. Edy, who last flung her affections at ex-Mobster **Mickey Cohen** (*TIME*, Sept. 1), is now making the rounds at Hollywood parties with the Toastmaster General, 78. "He treats me like a lady. He's a living legend, and he's still living it," insists Williams, who serves Jessel seven vitamins each day to combat his arthritic aches and pains. Jessel, thriving on such fare, is taking Edy on a Mexican vacation. "I suppose she did sex pictures because she needed money to eat," he says of his new companion. "She's very ambitious."



JOE FRAZIER AWAITS A COLISEUM SHOWDOWN



JESSEL STEPS OUT WITH HIS NEW TOASTMISTRESS



# MERIT!

---

**'Enriched Flavor' process prompts unprecedented response to taste of new low tar MERIT.**

---

Smokers are talking about a new kind of cigarette.

It's MERIT. The remarkable new low tar cigarette made with the 'Enriched Flavor' process.

MERIT has only 9 mg. tar. One of the lowest tar levels in smoking today. Yet, taste tests proved that MERIT delivers as much—or more—flavor than cigarettes having up to 60% more tar.

If you smoke, you'll be interested in what people like yourself are writing to us about MERIT.

***"Today, I purchased a pack of MERIT cigarettes. Much to my surprise—it was great! Taste—satisfying. Aroma—great."***

—Robert M. Hornsby  
Topeka, Kansas

***"...They gave just what I want in a smoke: good flavor, low tar and nicotine, slow to burn... you have won me over to Merit."***

—John H. Ganley  
Lynchburg, Virginia

***"Congratulations! You have made a cigarette that is indeed 'low tar with enriched flavor'."***

—June Haggart  
Arnold, Pennsylvania

***"... After smoking for 25 years and desperately looking for a low tar cigarette that tastes like a cigarette, EUREKA—MERIT!"***

—Elaine Turiano  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

9 mg. "tar," 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

**"Low tar cigarettes were out of the question, had tried 'em, and, as far as I was concerned, they were a smoker's joke. And along came Merit."**

—Ms. Christie Pavoni  
Memphis, Tennessee

**"Congratulations—they really do taste good. Great work!"**

—Mr. Robert Baker  
Kenilworth, New Jersey

**"I bought a carton and really enjoyed the taste, I've switched and I'm happy I did."**

—Frank Mayer  
Crown Point, Indiana

**"Thanks to all of you for discovering 'enriched flavor.'"**

—Sheldon M. Weisman  
Dallas, Texas

**"Your years of research with your new cigarette, Merit, have certainly been most successful.... It tastes like a cigarette."**

—Mrs. Barbara Miller  
Kensington, Connecticut

**"Three cheers for Merit! I don't know how you did it, but congratulations."**

—Mrs. Samuel Garre III  
Barrington, Illinois

**"I tried your new cigarette the other day and I truly enjoyed them."**

**MERIT is the first low tar, low nicotine cigarette I have ever tried that has a real taste."**

—Patricia R. Beadles  
Las Vegas, Nevada

**"It's very seldom that a product really impresses me, but Merit filters are great."**

—Skip Anderson  
Millstadt, Illinois

**"Are you sure Merit is a low tar cigarette? It is the best I've ever smoked. It has all those good things other cigarettes promise."**

—Mrs. Robin Kay Willoughby  
Hollywood, California

**"I read your ad, decided to try what I thought was just another gimmick, and was surprised. The taste is better than any low-tar cigarette I've ever smoked."**

—Paul Burt  
Stirling, New Jersey

**"... I could have told you after the first pack that you have really come up with something."**

—Donel Green  
Wichita Falls, Texas

**"New Merit is really great. I like the taste... and it was so easy to switch, I didn't believe it."**

—C. S. Rodlund  
Rose City, Michigan

**"For years I was convinced you couldn't have low tar and taste. Thanks for proving me wrong."**

—F. W. Hammerschmidt  
Amityville, Long Island, New York

**"Finally someone has made a low tar and nicotine cigarette that is really good."**

—Ms. Joan Connelly  
Livonia, Michigan



MERIT and MERIT MENTHOL

# How to save hours when there isn't a second to waste.



When life depends on receiving blood quickly, filtering can become a fatal bottleneck. Now, those delays no longer have to happen.

Before a hospital patient receives a transfusion, the blood should be filtered. On a routine day, that's no problem.

But what happens when there's a rash of accidents over a holiday weekend?

Or a single massive accident?

The slow-but-sure filtering process can become a bottleneck that reduces the odds against survival in an emergency.

Why? Because each and every stainless steel filter casing has to be sterilized before it can be reused.

And sterilization can take several hours.

## Precious time saved.

The answer to the problem is a pre-sterilized disposable blood filter casing made from a special plastic. An extremely tough, clear plastic called K-Resin.<sup>®</sup>

Today, these disposable, pre-

sterilized blood filters are available to hospitals all over the world.



Disposable blood filter casings were made possible by strong, clear K-Resin plastic.

Interestingly enough, the same plastic that made these blood filter casings possible is opening new possibilities for safer toys.

Tonka Corporation, the toy

truck manufacturer, is using K-Resin to make windshields for some of its products. (You've probably seen a Tonka toy truck on TV—it's the one that the elephant steps on.)

## A stronger, safer plastic.

Tonka found that K-Resin plastic does not break as easily and is less likely to shatter on impact.

Not only that, it actually costs less than the plastic they had been using.

Wherever there is a need for a plastic that will retain its clarity and stand up to a lot of punishment, there's a need for K-Resin.

A stronger, safer plastic developed by the same people who make fine products for your car.

The people of Phillips Petroleum.

Surprised?



**The Performance Company**

# Is There Any Future in Futurism?

*Prophecy, n. The art and practice of selling one's credibility for future delivery.*

—Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*

In a characteristically dire report, the Central Intelligence Agency has just warned of potential global upheavals "almost beyond comprehension." The cause of the chaos: climatic change that will trigger massive crop failures, drought and widespread famine (see ENVIRONMENT). In contrast to this augury of doom, Herman Kahn, ebullient director of the foresighted Hudson Institute, has just looked at the future and found it good. His new book, *The Next 200 Years*, offers a plausible scenario of declining population growth, rising levels of affluence and, given the right socio-economic conditions, "virtually eternal energy sources" and food for everyone.

Humorist Robert Benchley once divided the world into two groups: those who divide the world into two groups, and those who do not. The men at the institute belong in the first category. Futurists, some conclude, are either Malthusians or Cornucopians. Malthusians foresee a world where there is not enough of anything to go around—except people. The Cornucopians of the Hudson Institute find economic growth an essential for the future. The high consumption of the West, they argue, will lead the East to a land of plenty. Economist B. Bruce Biggs concurs: "The neo-Malthusians would have us be more generous and unselfish and less greedy and materialistic. No decent man would disagree, but are they more persuasive than Confucius, Buddha, Isaiah, or Jesus Christ? Have computers greater authority than Scripture?"

These are far from romantic queries. Indeed, their impact seems to have reached enemy shores. In its notorious pronouncement of 1972, the *Cassandras of the Club of Rome* warned that the world was consuming and polluting itself to death. The author of this suicide pact, said the clubmen, was economic growth. But last month the club decided that the vice was versa: growth, managed selectively, could close the gap between wealthy and deprived nations.

Caroming between gloom and euphoria, the reader of such conflicting reports can hardly be blamed for a queasy feeling of futuristic shock. For prophecy is no longer confined to science fiction or Jeanne Dixon. It is in the laboratories, think tanks, universities—everywhere. A.D. 2000 has now replaced 1984 as the favorite year for speculation. At least 400 colleges are offering futurist courses; the World Future Society claims 18,000 members, holds international conferences and produces a semimonthly journal, *The Futurist*, to ponder new times.

But neither the futurists nor their adherents have ever been able to agree on a unified vision. The fault may lie not with the stargazers, but with the public. As Columbia Uni-

versity Sociologist Amitai Etzioni observes: "Too often we oscillate between blind faith and cynical contempt for futurologists. It might help to realize that like other professionals, their qualities vary; and while the more reputable ones are inevitably better than no help at all, no one owns a clear crystal ball."

Which forecaster, then, can be believed? Are the doomsday seers correct in their despair? Or the technologists who detect abundance just around the corner? Was Konrad Lorenz

accurate when he said that aggression was built into human germ plasm? Or was Jacob Bronowski right when he put forth the proposition that war is a way station in *The Ascent of Man*?

The ambiguities of the future have intrigued humanity since Joseph parsed Pharaoh's dream and forecast seven years of plenty and seven of lean. Today prophecy remains the most extreme form of curiosity and a vital part of all Western societies. Yet the profound belief in posterity seems uniquely American. The U.S. was, after all, a country that had no yesterday of its own. Thomas Jefferson spoke for his entire generation when he said, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." The past belonged to the Old World; the future was owned by the new one.

Well over a century later, that future remained a dream, peopled with citizens of unparalleled wealth and power. Constraints were unthinkable. What 19th century American could resist the poet-prophet Walt Whitman when he urged his nation to "Sail forth—Steer for the deep waters only! Reckless O soul, exploring, I with thee and thou with me/ For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go/... O daring joy, but safe! Are they not all the seas of God?" Even in this century, H.G. Wells' premonitory words were consumed voraciously in the U.S. He seemed Whitman redivivus: "All this world is heavy with the promise of greater things, and a day will come, one day in the unending succession of days, when beings who are not latent in our thoughts and hidden in our lous, shall stand upon this earth as one stands upon a footstool and shall laugh and reach out their hands amidst the stars."

After the trenches of the Great War, however, science fiction and *Realpolitik* could no longer speak of posterity in the future perfect. The new paraphernalia of death, the threat of overpopulation, the thoughts of behavioral engineering—all contributed to an exhaustion of the imaginative impulse. Tomorrow was no longer a dream but a fevered apparition. Wells titled his final pessimistic work *Mind at the End of Its Tether*. Huxley's *Brave New World*, Capek's creation of the robot in *R.U.R.*, seemed increasingly pertinent. In the post-atomic era the very idea of a future was arguable. Antitopias grew like botulism in a sealed jar. Kafka's guilt-laden bureaucrats,



## ESSAY

Beckett's barren moral landscapes defined the American mood. Orwell's 1984. Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange* expressed the new existential despair, the feeling that one's grandchildren would wake up in a place very much like hell, administered by totalitarian far more ingenious than Beelzebub or Belial, Stalin or Hitler.

Recently, nonfiction has tried to confirm those dire forecasts. Biologist Paul Ehrlich (*The Population Bomb*) tours campuses warning of a planet smothered by proliferation and overconsumption; Barry Commoner's new volume, *The Poverty of Power*, sees capitalism as an irresponsible, even destructive force in global affairs. Nuclear physicists describe the radiation catastrophes inherent in nuclear power plants; meteorologists calculate the insults to the ozone present in every flight of the SST; biochemists estimate the brain cells destroyed with every martini. Even the Pill, once announced as the answer to population control, now appears to have hazardous side effects.

Such perceptions may be glimpses of tomorrow, or they may be magnifications of the present—shadows thrown upon a screen labeled A.D. 2000. They may be accurate, or they may be as invalid as the predictions of almost a century ago that saw city dwellers transported everywhere by that new-fangled invention, the balloon. Forecasters have a habit of extrapolating from their surroundings: the scientist from the laboratory, the statistician from his calculator, the administrator from his think tank. Such predictions rise, in Lewis Mumford's phrase, from a mind "operating with its own conceptual apparatus, in its own restrictive field... determined to make the world over in its own oversimplified terms, willfully rejecting interests and values incompatible with its own assumptions."

Does this mean that prediction has no future? Hardly. The human race can no more stop prophesying than it can stop breathing. Indeed, if anything has a future, it is futurism. The United Nations Institute for Training and Research sponsored an international survey of futures studies. Sweden has a Secretariat for Futures Studies reporting directly to the Prime Minister. The European Communities are now contemplating the establishment of a permanent group, "Europe +30," to forecast Europe's needs for the next three decades. Last February Ohio's Senator John Glenn conducted a symposium on "Our Third Century." Scores of experts testified, among them Barry Commoner, Alvin Toffler (*Future Shock*), Nelson Rockefeller, B.F. Skinner and Buckminster Fuller.

In an epoch of uncertainties, the hunger for prediction is rising to the famine level. Never before has speculative fiction been so popular. Thirty-five science-fiction books were published in 1945; in 1975, 900 such books were published. Even the pseudo sciences are flourishing. Shrewdly unspecific astrological charts can be found in most major newspapers (PISCES: Do your work despite



1906 FORECAST OF MID-CENTURY TRANSPORTATION

passing moments of stress). The *National Enquirer's* annual contest to gauge readers' psychic ability is among the weekly's most popular features. In fact, it has become impossible to lead a modern life without some form of prophecy. Every stock market letter, every long-range weather report and baseball schedule is a prediction, every garden and every child is an expressed belief in the future. As Toffler observes, "Under conditions of high-speed change, a democracy without the ability to anticipate condemns itself to death."

But just how much can it anticipate? How deeply into the future can it peer? Unhappily, not very far at all. No matter how sophisticated the devices or demographics, certain events and event makers will always lie outside the scope of seers. The maniac, the genius, the random event are unpredictable; yet they have formed much of this century's history. There is no reason to suspect that they may not form the history of the next.

Moreover, because of popular fascination with the remote, far too many futurists are busy examining the millennium, as if upon Jan. 1, 2000, a new apocalypse or renaissance would magically appear. The calendar is not so cooperative; by definition, the most astonishing changes always go unheralded. Of course, some predictions can be made. Given current trends—and even these are contingent—there will be increasing numbers of Third World citizens and a proportionately decreasing number of Westerners. There will be smaller concentrations of young Americans, and larger colonies of old ones. Working hours will drop; the political power of women and ethnic minorities will rise. Leisure will expand; traditional food and fuel supplies will diminish. Longevity will increase—and so will the dangers of ecological mismanagement and military conflict.

Futurists can help to forestall these troubles. Or they can press for changes in some remote purgatory or Eden. Examining Herman Kahn's thesis, Adam Yarmolinsky, University of Massachusetts professor, asks a series of rhetorical questions: "How do we get from here to there? What is the best mind set to move us in that direction? Are we more likely to succeed if we keep our eyes firmly on the target centuries away? Or ought we to be more concerned about pitfalls, obstacles, difficulties we seem to be encountering in the immediate future?"

All responsible seers know the answers. The future of futurism does not reside in the millennium. It lies rooted in the current human condition—the saving of cities, the administration of foreign policy, the forestalling of war and famine and natural catastrophe. Given decent underpinnings, tomorrow may yet take care of itself. What Novelist Antoine de Saint-Exupéry wrote three decades ago must remain the moral force behind all truly prophetic workers: "As for the future, your task is not to foresee, but to enable it."

Stefan Kanfer

1883 PROPHECY OF ANTI-MUGGER DEVICE







ONE-MAN CELL WITH UNBARRED WINDOW



LANDSCAPED LIKE A SHOPPING MALL BY SHORT-TERM INMATES, BUTNER IS READY

## THE LAW

### Refining Confinement

The first of 200 hard cases—inmates convicted of at least two crimes—will arrive next week at the new maximum-security federal prison at Butner, N.C., take one look and assume they are in a play pen. No gun towers, no cell blocks, no cavernous mess halls, no barred windows. At orientation, each inmate will be given a definite date for his release and be told that much of what he does until then will be up to him, but that nothing he does will get him out any earlier. His guards will wear blazers and slacks, and he can wear his own clothes or prison-supplied jumpsuits (in white, gold, orange or blue). Also to be issued to him: the key to his own cell.

For those who advocate hard-boiled treatment of repeat offenders, Butner's showcase experiment must seem like the scheme of a coddling egghead. Which is close to the mark. Mindful of the general dissatisfaction with the U.S. penal system and what it was achieving, Federal Bureau of Prisons Director Norman Carlson decided in 1972 that Butner, then in the planning stage, would be designed for new rehabilitation techniques. After bitter criticism scuttled early ideas of using transactional analysis and behavior modification, Carlson turned to the theories of Norval Morris, 52, a New Zealand-born criminal-law professor (and now dean) at the University of Chicago Law School.

In his 1974 book, *The Future of Imprisonment*, Morris had detailed the concept of a "voluntary prison," drawing in part on results at three institutions—in England, Denmark and The Netherlands. Central to Morris' view was that prisons fail at rehabilitation because they try to cure criminal tendencies in an overwhelmingly degrading environ-

ment. Instead of "compulsory helping programs," Morris wrote, prisons should require only that an inmate endure his set punishment; that the incarceration should not be mentally or physically brutalizing; and that the convict should be offered extensive training and other assistance, but the choice to accept should be his, on the theory that such things do not help the prisoner who does not want them.

**No Act.** Following Morris' prescriptions and proscriptions, Butner will allow a prisoner to select from such programs as dental technician training, college, high school or literacy courses, and counseling for drug or alcohol abuse. He will be free to pass up all of them—and even to transfer to another prison after the first three months. Because the convict's release date cannot be affected by his choices, there is no incentive to "act" rehabilitated in order to win parole. His prison time will be extended, however, if an inmate is found guilty of a serious disciplinary offense.

Butner will impose two absolute requirements: every inmate must work at a prison job and must attend regular group discussions on all aspects of prison life. Nor is the prison quite as open as it looks. The unbarred windows are made of escape-proof Lexan, the material used in airplane windows. Doors to the 7½-ft. by 9½-ft. one-man cells can be locked or not by the inmate, but from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. all outside doors of the four single-story, 50-cell buildings are bolted.\* The 40-acre complex is surrounded by two 14-ft. fences—separated by 20 ft. of coiled barbed wire—that are topped by barbed wire and equipped with sensors.

The Bureau of Prisons is choosing the men to be sent to Butner at random

from a group of 750 eligible federal prisoners; qualifications include being at least 18, having from one to three years before possible release and a history of repetitive crime. "We want prisoners for our project who are not the most likely to succeed," says Butner Warden Donald A. Deppe, 45, an ex-professor of philosophy at the University of Maryland and former director of education for all federal prisons. Eligible inmates who are not sent to Butner will be used as a control group for a follow-up study on the percentage of those who return to crime.

Such statistical measurements of effectiveness will not be available for years, but a faster index of success or failure will be life inside Butner. "If we can run an institution for these prisoners without intra-prisoner predatory violence and in conditions of relative freedom within the prison," says Morris, "then we can do it for all prisons and all prisoners, if we want to." The price would be high. Butner cost \$13.8 million to build, plans a staff-to-inmate ratio of 2 to 3 and has a \$4 million annual budget. The normal federal penitentiary costs less than half as much to run. "A waste of money?" asks Morris. "It depends on how seriously you take the problem of repetitive criminal violence."

### Switch-Hitter

John Patrick Tully, a pouty, blue-eyed cocaine smuggler and confessed contract murderer, is just the sort of criminal former Philadelphia Superprosecutor Richard Aurel Sprague loved to put on ice. No longer. In fact, the fighting D.A. is currently serving as Tully's lawyer. Sprague, 50, who gained national fame when he traced the killing of Union Insurgent Joseph ("Jock") Yablonski and his family up a chain of conspiracy until former United Mine Workers President W.A. ("Tony") Boyle was

\*Three other buildings at Butner will house 140 mentally ill inmates who are not part of the prison-reform program.



**CRUSADING ATTORNEY SPRAGUE**  
Now he speaks for the defense.

convicted of first-degree murder, has walked through a legal looking glass and emerged as a slugging defense attorney.

Since his firing in 1974 after a feud with Philadelphia District Attorney F. Emmett Fitzpatrick (*TIME*, Dec. 30, 1974), Sprague has taken on—and successfully defended—clients accused of armed robbery, embezzlement, manslaughter and rape. Can a crusading prosecutor reverse course that easily?

#### THE LAW

Sprague is succeeding, in part because he seeks out cases that give him an activist's role. Says he, "Each side has a right to have its interests vigorously defended."

Sprague's overload of sharpshooting energy has led him to accept a varied collection of public interest cases. He has represented a group of local Chinese protesting the redevelopment of Philadelphia's Chinatown, offered to oversee a probe requested by local Puerto Rican groups concerned over a badly prosecuted murder and arson case, and is handling a lawsuit by Developer Sam Lefrak and the New York City Housing Authority that attempts to prove worldwide price fixing by five major oil companies. Other Sprague cases include a local data research corporation's antitrust suit against IBM, and defense of a geology professor in Lancaster County's Mennonite community who is accused of sodomizing two boys.

In the Tully case, which Sprague took for no fee "as a matter of principle," the hit man claims to have been shortchanged by New Jersey state prosecutors after turning state's evidence against members of the Newark-based Campisi mob. Tully, 36, says the prosecutors promised him at least "one day less" than the lowest Campisi sentence. Instead, he got 15 years while the other gangsters avoided trial and bargained for terms as low as three years.

Sprague sees this as Kafkaesque justice. More important, he looks upon it as a chance to fight against his pet outrage: slipshod standards in the criminal justice system. "I want to attack the plea bargaining in this case," he says angrily. "I want to make a mockery of what the state of New Jersey has done."

Sprague's initial adjustment to private practice came with deceptive ease. After joining a Philadelphia antitrust firm, David Berger Associates, he saw his \$40,000 prosecutor's salary quadruple in a year. He traveled, took high-priced civil cases and decorated his office with marbled burgundy wallpaper made from old English textbook bindings "to achieve the look of a barrister's office in Dickens' day." But the drives of 17 years of public life would not relent. "In some ways," he says of his cases, "I'm still a prosecutor." Albeit without such perks of office as his enormous public visibility and his black Chrysler complete with telephone, two-way radio and police siren.

"Do I feel an urge, like an old war horse, to be back in there?" Sprague asks rhetorically. "Sure I do. But only to the extent that I don't see anyone who is in there doing anything." Such observations are enough to make some Philadelphians believe Sprague will be on the scene in next year's Democratic primary. One office at stake: the district attorney's.

## Carlton 70. The lowest 'tar' of all cigarettes.

Look at the latest U.S. Government figures for other brands that call themselves "low" in tar.

	tar, mg/cig	nicotine, mg/cig
Brand D (Filter)	14	1.0
Brand D (Menthol)	13	1.0
Brand V (Filter)	11	0.7
Brand T (Menthol)	11	0.6
Brand V (Menthol)	11	0.7
Brand T (Filter)	11	0.6

**Carlton 70's (lowest of all brands) —  
\* 1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine**

\*As per cigarette by FTC method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.



1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

# DEWAR'S PROFILES

(Pronounced Do-ers "White Label")



BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY • 40% ALC/VOL • © SCHENLEY IMPORTS CO., N.Y.C.

## BILL KAUFMANN

HOME: Glendale, California

AGE: 33

PROFESSION: Astrophysicist

HOBBIES: Tennis, skiing, classical music.

MOST MEMORABLE BOOK: "Gravitation" by Misner, Thorne and Wheeler

LAST ACCOMPLISHMENT: Wrote "The Cosmic Frontiers of General Relativity" and is currently working on a screenplay about the discovery of a black hole in outer space and man's attempt to harness its energy.

QUOTE: "The expanding horizons of man's knowledge of the universe have dramatically shaped the course of western civilization. I strongly feel that the scientist has a profound moral obligation to communicate advances in science to the general public."

PROFILE: Concerned. Deeply involved with astrophysics as a vehicle for advancing the social sciences.

SCOTCH: Dewar's "White Label"



**Authentic.** There are more than a thousand ways to blend whiskies in Scotland, but few are authentic enough for Dewar's "White Label." The quality standards established in 1846 have never varied. Into each drop go only the finest whiskies from the Highlands, the Lowlands, the Hebrides.

**Dewar's never varies.**



## Indy comes to town.

They call it the greatest spectacle in racing.  
For good reason.

In fact, for more than 60 years now, the coming of the Indianapolis 500 has never failed to excite pulse rates in every nook and cranny of this country.

Somehow, when those gentlemen start their engines, it's a lot more than just a motor race. Somehow it isn't just them—brave men and powerful machines in far-off Indiana.

Somehow it's you, too, and you're out there riding with them, with all the hopes and dreams and fears of a lifetime symbolically compressed into one late May afternoon.

Whatever the magic, when this year's spectacle gets underway, and the pack comes growling down the main straight to take the green light, the car that will be out in front pacing the action will be a Buick.

For the second straight year in a row, no less.

Some Buick, too. A highly-tuned Century with an extra-heavy-duty chassis, powered by a turbocharged version of Buick's little V-6 engine. That's right—a V-6 pace car. And a Buick at that. Driven by good ol' Marty Robbins.

My, times do change, don't they?

That they do. And to underscore the fact, we've decided to create a limited number of pace car replicas and offer them for sale at Buick dealerships.

No, the replicas aren't turbocharged like the original.

And no, the suspension isn't set up to turn left like an Indy racer.

But that good, basic Buick V-6 is there. So is the flamboyant silver, red and black paint job.

And above all, so are all the dozens of other fine Buick qualities that have made Century one of the most popular cars in America this year.

Pace car plumage notwithstanding, why not do as so many other free-spirited folk have done, and check out a Century at your Buick dealer.

Who knows?—maybe the next time someone says "gentlemen start your engines," you'll find yourself in a Buick.



**BUICK** Dedicated to the Free Spirit  
in just about everyone.





REFLECTOR-BEARING LAGEOS

## Golf Ball in the Sky

Perched in the nose of a Delta rocket, one of the simplest satellites ever built by the U.S. roared off the launch pad at Vandenberg Air Force Base last week to begin an 8 million-year journey in space. The 2-ft. sphere, placed into a 3,600-mile-high circular orbit, contains no moving parts or electronic equipment and resembles an oversized golf ball. Yet it should provide earthbound geophysicists with a benchmark in the sky that will enable them to measure precisely the rotation rate of the earth and the wobble of its axis, continental drift, and the movement along geologic faults. It may even supplement the developing technique of earthquake prediction.

Dubbed LAGEOS, for laser geodynamic satellite, the new satellite consists of an aluminum shell dimpled with 426 so-called cube-corner prism reflectors. Each of the prisms reflects directly to the source a laser beam striking it from any angle. Inside the sphere is a solid brass core, which contributes most of the 903-lb. satellite's weight. Because it is so small yet has so much mass, LAGEOS will not be much affected by any traces of the earth's atmosphere, particles in the solar wind, or variations in the earth's gravity field. As a result, its orbit will be extremely stable, and its position at any time can be precisely determined.

**Future Map.** NASA, working through the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, will aim high-powered pulses of laser light at the satellite from positions on the earth. By measuring the length of time the light needs to travel to the satellite and reflect to the laser stations, scientists will be able to calculate the exact distance from each laser gun to LAGEOS. Thus, by placing stations on each of the dozen or so tectonic plates that constitute the earth's surface, they can track the rate and direction of the plate movement, which results in con-

tinental drift. With stations on each side of the San Andreas fault, geophysicists will be able to calculate the exact movement along the great crack in the earth's surface, which could aid in forecasting California's earthquakes.

NASA scientists estimate that measurements made during the first four years of the program should be accurate to within four inches. But eventually, once the measurement techniques are perfected and more laser stations become operational, movements of the earth's surface as small as .4 in. per year, averaged over four years, will be detected.

Because LAGEOS is expected to remain in orbit for so long, NASA has placed aboard it two stainless-steel sheets, each etched with a message conceived by Astrophysicist Carl Sagan of Cornell University. Designed to inform extraterrestrial visitors or future inhabitants of the earth about the LAGEOS mission, the message shows three maps of the earth, depicting the continental drift that the satellite will help observe. The uppermost of the maps shows the continents as they are thought to have existed 225 million years ago, when Africa and South America were joined. The middle map is a picture of the planet as it exists today and indicates the satellite's launch site in California. The lowest map portrays the earth as scientists assume it will look some 8 million years from now; it shows Australia welded tightly to the East Indies, and East Africa separated from the rest of the continent.

This map also predicts California's future. The sliver of the state west of the San Andreas fault, including Los Angeles, has split from the U.S. mainland and is heading out to sea.

## Hot-Blooded Dinosaurs?

Dinosaurs are generally regarded as overgrown lizards—pea-brained, cold-blooded creatures that spent most of their lives hulking sluggishly in the sun. This image is unfair, argues Adrian Des-

mond, 28, an English-born doctoral candidate at Harvard University. Desmond, who studied vertebrate paleontology at London University, has spent the past several years reviewing the latest research on the huge creatures that ruled the earth for 140 million years. In a new book titled *The Hot-Blooded Dinosaurs* (Dial Press; \$12.95), he contends that some dinosaurs and their kin were warm-blooded, complex and far more intelligent than some of the species that succeeded them.

**In the Cold.** Desmond bases his argument on a comparison of dinosaurs and modern-day reptiles like the lizard. Cold-blooded animals, whose bodies are small by comparison with most mammals, control their body temperatures by moving into or out of the sun. If dinosaurs were cold-blooded, maintains Desmond, they would not have been able to do this because of their size (a brontosaurus, for example, weighed around 30 tons); a dinosaur whose body temperature dropped just one degree below the warmth necessary for it to be active would have to bask in the sun for at least several hours to bring it back to normal. Thus, says Desmond, *Struthiomimus*, the "ostrich dinosaur," could not have hit the 50 m.p.h. speeds it was said to have attained if it had a physiology comparable with that of a modern-day lizard. The *Tyrannosaurus* could not have engaged in its earth-shaking battles with the rhinoceros *Triceratops* unless it had the high metabolic rate of a warm-blooded creature.

Desmond also supports an explanation of the dinosaurs' sudden disappearance that is compatible with the warm-blooded theory: at the end of the Cretaceous era, about 70 million years ago, the earth's climate rapidly cooled. Cold-blooded reptiles, such as turtles and crocodiles, were able to find cozy nooks and survive the winters by hibernating; small, fur-covered mammals built warm nests. Dinosaurs could not. Too big to find protective caves or burrows in which to hibernate, they stayed out in the cold and died.

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THE THEATRE

## Sonata for Sharks

THREEPENNY OPERA

by BERTOLT BRECHT and KURT WEILL

Bertolt Brecht was an imp of ambiguity. He was an atheist, yet he admitted that Luther's German translation of the Bible was the greatest single influence on his work. He was antiheroic, yet in *Mother Courage* he created one of the most arresting heroines in 20th century drama. As a Communist, he proselytized for the poor, but he was as tightfisted as the socialist Bernard Shaw when it came to his own money. And this coolheaded didact of "epic" theater and "alienation" effects was a sentimental idolator of Charlie Chaplin movies.

What color is a chameleon? Every



JULIA & GREENE IN THREEPENNY OPERA

What color is a chameleon?

man's Brecht turns out to be his own. The production of *Three Penny Opera* at Manhattan's Vivian Beaumont Theater, shaped with satanic brilliance by Director Richard Foreman, is abrasive, stylized and sinister. Brecht's message—sprayed on the stage like graffiti on a subway train—is that the underworld of rapacious thieves, fawning beggars and mercenary prostitutes is an exact mirror image of property-minded, shark-toothed bourgeois society.

Granted that premise, this production is riveting. As a monocol Mack the Knife, Raul Julia moves like a Fred Astaire of gangsterdom, sometimes prowling for his favorite whore, Jenny (Ellen Greene). C.K. Alexander's Mr. Peachum—the Fagin of London's turn-of-the-century beggars—might have been drawn by George Grosz. The Kurt Weill score, too renowned for praise (*Mack the Knife*, *Pirate Jenny*), is superbly rendered. This *Three Penny Opera* honors the Brecht who wrote with a hammer and swung a sickle. **T.E. Kalam**

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*United States Steel asks a prominent American to speak out.*

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## *“What makes America work?—responsible*



**by George Meany**

*President, American Federation  
of Labor and Congress  
of Industrial Organizations*

Those who read only headlines probably believe labor and management are constantly at each other's throat and can't agree on

anything. That, of course, is the nature of news—conflict is newsworthy than peace.

So a strike—which occurs in less than 2 per cent of all negotiations—is news; the 98 per cent settled without a strike are not.

That is my point: Labor and management do agree that responsible and free collective bargaining is the way to settle disputes.

Of course, collective bargaining is not perfect. Labor and management are

constantly striving to improve it. For example, in the steel industry, labor and management have agreed on an alternative to the strike—binding arbitration.

It has been successful, but only because both sides agreed. Nobody forced either the union or the companies to agree.

Some editorialists contend the answer to strikes

## *and free collective bargaining."*

or lockouts is to have the government compel all unions and all companies to settle their disputes through arbitration. But compulsion would be the death knell for collective bargaining, a free trade-union movement and the free enterprise system. It would undermine a basic American freedom.

Only a dictatorship can compel workers to work against their will or force management to sign a contract it does not want. No free American wants any form of totalitarianism.

While strikes sometimes cause public inconvenience, they are an inherent part of the liberties we all enjoy—free speech, freedom of association, the right of contract. The exercise of liberties in a democratic society is not only healthy, it is vital.

As President Dwight D. Eisenhower put it: "The right of men to leave their

jobs is a test of freedom. Hitler suppressed strikes. Stalin suppressed strikes.... Each also suppressed freedom. There are some things worse, much worse, than strikes. One of them is the loss of freedom."

So labor and management support free collective bargaining, which has brought to American workers the highest standard of living in the world, strengthened the economy by increasing consumer buying power, and provided a common sense mechanism for resolving problems.

Collective bargaining is not perfect, but it works. And responsible labor and responsible management must and do work to make it better.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

### *Collective bargaining and U.S. Steel*

*U.S. Steel joins Mr. Meany in noting the landmark agreement between the nation's major steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America. In this agreement, both sides agreed voluntarily to resolve future differences*

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THE RECOVERY

## A Sudden Surge in Europe

Though the world recession hit Western Europe later and less severely than the U.S., it also lasted longer. For example, unemployment began declining in the U.S. last June, but kept climbing in Europe well into the winter. Now, however, recovery in Europe, as in the U.S., is proceeding faster than had been expected. After two years of sagging demand, European auto sales are rising so rapidly that one executive of Simca in France says that his company cannot make cars as fast as customers want to buy them. Businessmen have got their inventories down, and their order books are filling up. Even the two countries with sick currencies, Britain and Italy, are deriving some benefits. Tourists are pouring into Britain to snap up bargains; a South American lawyer recently bought 2,000 lightweight suits from Marks & Spencer in London. Italian exporters are taking advantage of a cheap lira to post remarkable increases in foreign sales of clothing, appliances and machine tools.

**German Lead.** Two statistics chart the vigor of the rebound. The Common Market Commission now estimates that the output of goods and services in the nine nations of the European Community will expand by 3.5% this year, vs. its decline of 2.5% in 1975. And the number of jobless workers in the Nine has fallen from a peak of 5.7 million in January to about 5.4 million now.\*

As usual, the European recovery is being led by the powerful West German economy. In the first quarter, industrial production in West Germany was 3.3% higher than a year earlier, and new orders were up a whopping 17%. The country's five leading economic research institutes now predict that West Germany's gross national product, which fell 3.5% last year, will rise 3.5% this year. One concern: the mark has become

so costly in terms of other currencies that many West German exports could become uncompetitive.

France too is happily revising its forecasts upward. French G.N.P. is expected to expand 5% or more this year rather than the 4.7% anticipated earlier. Exports should climb by 6.4%, and auto sales already are up 20%. Another barometer: champagne sales, after two bad years, are bubbling almost 40% ahead of the 1975 pace.

Inflation continues to be a formidable threat to the European comeback, but even the price front showed promising news last week. Leaders of Britain's powerful unions tentatively agreed with the government to accept stringent new voluntary wage controls, to take effect Aug. 1.

The accord calls for limiting all wage increases to an average of 4.5%. Under this arrangement, weekly increases for the 40% of the work force earning between \$90 and \$144 a week will be 5%. No worker's raise will be less than \$4.50 or higher than \$7.20. The government's part of the bargain is to cut income taxes by \$1.7 billion a year.

Though the limit on raises is more lenient than the 3% that Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey originally proposed, it is considerably tighter than the policy now in effect, which holds pay boosts to 4.6, or about \$11 a week. Impressively enough, Healey did not have to agree to any onerous conditions, such as import curbs or price controls, to win the union leaders' assent. When the £6 limit took effect last summer, British prices were rising at a blistering annual rate of 25%; now the pace has slowed to 12%. The government hopes to halve the inflation rate again by next year.

The prognosis for Europe's other problem economy, that of Italy, is less favorable. The lira last week was trading at 890 to the dollar, vs. 680 less than four months ago. Though the drop has started a boomlet in Italian exports, it has also fanned Italy's inflation rate, now a



SIGNS OF REVIVAL: VACATION CROWDS LEAVING PARIS (TOP); DINERS IN ROME

devastating 30%, by increasing the price of imports. The trade deficit for the first quarter was \$1.5 billion, equal to the gap during the whole of 1975.

Last week, in an effort to bolster the price of Italian currency by reducing the growing amount of lire circulating in world money markets, Prime Minister Aldo Moro slapped stiff controls on imports and add to the nation's already high 7% jobless rate. Meanwhile, inflation is likely to go on climbing. Two weeks ago, the Mechanical Trades Union set a pattern for the rest of Italian labor by signing a contract that, including cost of living adjustments, provides pay increases of 18% a year.

**New Optimism.** Some economists are still concerned that the recovery in the rest of Europe is not balanced—specifically that it is too heavily dependent on export sales and consumer spending and is getting little help from investment in new plant and equipment. In France, for example, business investment is expected to rise a mere 1% this year. But even this weakness could be overcome in the not too distant future. A recent Common Market business survey found European industrial leaders generally more optimistic than they have been in three years.

\*In the U.S., the unemployment rate in April remained at 7.5% of the labor force, unchanged from March, but down from a recession high of 8.9% last May.

## LUMBER

# No Clear-Cut Decision for Timber

The U.S. has not seen such a tumult over timbering since the great conservationist Gifford Pinchot took on bureaucrats and lumber barons at the turn of the century. On one side are the U.S. Forest Service and the \$57 billion-a-year wood-products industry. Opposing them is a coalition of environmental groups. At stake: how the nation's 183 million acres of federally owned forest should be managed—including how much timber should be taken out of them.

That is no small issue. For years the Forest Service has sold private companies the right to cut timber in national forests. Even last year, when demand was dampened by a slump in home building (housing starts were 43% below 1973), the harvest from 155 national forests still topped 9 billion board feet, or 27% of the industry totals. Most of it was softwood for paper products and the building industry. But now this arrangement has been completely upset by environmentalist suits.

The environmentalists charge that the Forest Service is allowing too much logging in the national forests. Their suits therefore seek strict enforcement of the service's original charter. The Organic Act of 1897 specifically permits logging in national forests—but only of "dead, matured or large growth" trees that have been individually marked for cutting. In 1973 the Isaac Walton League sued to halt clear-cutting in West Virginia's Monongahela National Forest. Since clear-cutting means the chopping down of every single tree in a given area, including young ones, the court decided against the Forest Service.

**Grave Doubts.** Every modern timber company clear-cuts where possible. The practice confines the harvest to one area and makes reseeded easier; thus clear-cutting can cost a lumber company about 50% less than cutting only selected trees. The industry thus was shocked when a higher court last August upheld the Monongahela decision. Then in December a federal judge in Anchorage cited the same decision and voided Ketchikan Pulp Co.'s 50-year contract to take 8.2 billion board feet of timber out of Alaska's Tongass National Forest. The ruling cast grave doubts on the legality of clear-cutting in the 53 million acres of national forests in eight other Western states, including the main producers of softwoods, Oregon and Washington.

Many big private companies in the area, like Weyerhaeuser, Crown Zellerbach and Georgia-Pacific, are not seriously affected, because they mostly log their own lands. But other giants and nearly all the small independent producers

are in big trouble. Says Gerald McChesney, president of Fort Vancouver Plywood Co. in Washington: "This could kill us—99% of our timber comes from the Pinchot National Forest." As for prices, predicts Lewis Krauss, partner in the Rough & Ready Timber Co. of Cave Junction, Ore.: "We could have a wood crunch as bad as the oil crunch of two years ago."

Timber men are looking to Congress for relief. If the Monongahela decision is applied nationally, they say, the results would surely include: 1) a 10% drop in production of softwood, 2) the layoff of 130,000 workers, 3) shortages of everything from hardwood railroad ties to toilet paper, and 4) average increases of \$2,400 in the cost of wood for a single-family home—enough to hurt the home-building industry, which is finally pulling out of its recession. In addition, the industry and the Forest Service argue that clear-cutting makes good conservation sense. It is little different from harvesting grain, say foresters, and greatly benefits the replanting of Douglas fir and other valuable species that need plenty of sunlight to grow.

Environmentalists have strong arguments for Congressmen to consider too. "We don't oppose clear-cutting per se," says Tom Barlow, coordinator of the Coalition to Save Our National Forests. Rather, the environmentalists are against clear-cutting 1,000 acres at a time, which destroys wildlife habitats, and clear-cutting on steep slopes, which causes rivers to silt up. The environmentalists merely want, says Barlow, "sensible, balanced forest management"—meaning long-term protection of the forests for recreation, wildlife and other uses as well as for continued lumbering.

**Fight Ahead.** Each side has a bill before the Senate that suits its aims. One, sponsored by Hubert Humphrey and backed by the timber interests, has been reported out of the Senate Interior and Agriculture committees. Despite some safeguards, its main thrust is to direct the Forest Service to issue guidelines for timber management—thus giving it a free hand to do business as usual. The other bill, sponsored by West Virginia Democratic Senator Jennings Randolph, would set controls on timbering and specifically limit clear-cutting to 25-acre plots in national forests. A fight is expected on the Senate floor later this month.

The outcome is too close to call. Environmentalists have vowed to mount the most intensive lobbying campaign since their defeat of the SST. Timber men, for their part, have set up "Monongahela Action Committees" to press for the Humphrey bill in every congressional district. Last week some 100 independent loggers drove their huge rigs to the Western Forest Center in Portland, Ore., and staged a mock funeral for their industry, thus dramatizing what they think will happen if Congress does not see the issue their way.



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UNION PRESIDENT MILLER

MINERS AT A UNION CARBIDE PIT IN BLUE CREEK, W. VA.

VICE PRESIDENT TRBOVICH

## LABOR

### U.M.W. Strife—Again

Leaders of United Mine Workers locals in northeastern Pennsylvania expected only a routine discussion of union business when they gathered in Hazleton at the end of last month. Instead, they witnessed a boiling confrontation between Union President Arnold Miller and Vice President Mike Trbovich. "This union is on the verge of financial disaster!" shouted Trbovich. "Our money and our future are being squandered by Arnold Miller's mismanagement!" Jumping to the mike, Miller snapped back: "That's a damn lie and you know it!" An hour later, Miller suspended Trbovich from the vice presidency, ostensibly for failing to launch an investigation of union organizing programs in the West.

**Friends Desert.** The showdown reflected a fierce internal power struggle that, in the words of U.M.W. Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, "is tearing our union apart." The battle between Miller and Trbovich—and Miller and a majority of the U.M.W.'s 12-member executive board—has paralyzed union leadership, and threatens to erode the reforms that are turning the once corrupt and authoritarian U.M.W. into a progressive labor organization.

The trouble began in 1974, two years after Miller's insurgent election victory over W.A. ("Tony") Boyle, who is now serving a life sentence for conspiracy to murder U.M.W. Reformer Joseph ("Jock") Yablonski. After his win, Miller purged the entire Boyle-appointed executive board. To his dismay, the new board turned out to be dominated by Boyle cronies, elected by the rank and file because they were better known than Miller's men. In addition, four board members endorsed by Miller deserted their sponsor, charging him with mismanagement. Finally Trbovich, Miller's reform-minded running mate, left the fold to lead the opposition. The charges against Miller, that his staff is dominated by "left-wing radicals from New York and Boston," that excessive—and

illegal—spending by Miller is plunging the union into the red, and that he is a poor administrator.

The opposition has succeeded in bedeviling the tolerant and administratively naive Miller, who never ran anything bigger than a 200-man local before taking over the 250,000-member U.M.W. Taking advantage of Miller's inexperience—and reluctance to use a gavel in meetings—his rivals turn board sessions into parliamentary pandemonium, quarreling, shouting and, during a recent budget debate, nearly coming to blows with Miller supporters. "The meetings are a goddam circus," says Miller.

In a 14-day debate on Miller's proposed \$14 million budget—the first in U.M.W. history—the board slashed \$2 million, accusing Miller of deficit spending. Miller insists that expenditures will be covered by dues collections and investment income—and points out that the U.M.W. is one of the richest unions in the U.S. It has \$85 million in assets, including ownership of the third largest bank in Washington, D.C.

What disturbs Miller most about the opposition is its chilling effect on his campaign to reform the U.M.W. In four years, the curt, pasty-faced Miller, a 22-year veteran of the mines and a victim of black-lung disease, has accomplished a lot. In 1974 he negotiated the richest contract in U.M.W. history, providing miners a 54% wage-and-benefit increase over three years. He has given members the right to elect board members and district officers, increased the union's safety staff, and lobbied toward passage in Congress a bill liberalizing compensation for black-lung sufferers.

Now the opposition has sliced away one-third of the U.M.W. appropriation for organizing and political action. Trbovich's charge that money is being mispent touched off a five-month audit of U.M.W. books by the Department of Labor. Though it is unfinished, the audit, according to department sources, should give the union a clean bill of health. The allegations, though, are one reason that the U.M.W. lost a recent organizing drive in Bell County, Ky. Says Miller

"The coal company was handing out statements by our own leaders saying the union is going bust."

The poisoned atmosphere is even reviving the specter of union violence. Fearing attack, Miller recently gave up his Washington home to seclude himself in an apartment in Alexandria, Va. When traveling into opposition strongholds, he says he packs a Smith & Wesson .38 automatic under his left shoulder. Trbovich says he was clubbed over the head recently while entering the Burlington Hotel in Washington; in Hazleton last month, he stayed behind a bolted door in an isolated wing of a motel. The power struggle will probably not be resolved until the next U.M.W. presidential election in December 1977—unless it is settled by violence first.

## CHILE

### Free-Market Travail

The Chilean coup that overthrew Salvador Allende in late 1973 replaced one set of economic ideologues with another. The Marxists who strove for total regulation of the economy have been succeeded by a group of policymakers known as the "Chicago Boys." Reason they ardently embrace the free-market teachings of University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman, who visited Chile for six days last year to counsel them.

Reflecting Friedman's antipathy to government intervention in the economy, Chile has sold many state companies to private investors at bargain prices. The swollen bureaucracy has been slashed drastically to reduce government spending. Some price controls have been lifted. Tariff restrictions are gradually being eased, in the hope that foreign competition will force local industry to become more efficient.

The intent was to throw the economy into an ice-cold bath of free competition—and the result has been to turn business blue. Inflation raged at 340% last year. Industrial production has fallen so sharply that Chile's total output



## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

of goods and services last year was 20% below 1974. Unemployment, low during the Allende days of ample government payrolls, is now at least 19%.

Friedman himself does not defend the results. Says he: "It's absurd to talk about Chile as if it is an important test of my ideas. I don't even know if they have been carrying out my policies." His colleague Arnold Harberger complains that the Chileans have in fact been violating a prime tenet of Friedmanism: that a nation's money supply should expand at a steady but moderate pace. The Chilean money supply jumped 27.5% in this year's first quarter alone. The Chicago Boys report that they have cut down as rapidly as they can the rate at which they are printing new pesos. Indeed, they point out that since prices have been shooting up even more rapidly, the "real" money supply—discounted for

Allende period and the drop in the price of copper. Chile's chief moneymaker, from an average of 93¢ per lb in 1974 to a disastrous 56¢ in 1975 (it has since recovered to 70¢).

Pablo Baraona, president of the Banco Central, adds a complaint that is ironically reminiscent of the Allende period: "Any other country with the economic record and the problems of Chile would have received much more assistance from world organizations." Because of Chile's repression of human rights, international lenders barely agreed to refinance Chile's debt in 1975. This year Chile claims already to have scraped together enough cash in loans from various sources, including the major American banks, to meet the \$800 million of interest and principal payments it must make on its old debt. Beams Baraona: "We have re-established our credit worthiness."



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Can a poor, inflation-ridden nation have an unshackled economy?

inflation—has actually been reduced.

The controversy brings up the deeper question of whether Friedman's theories are really applicable to a poor, inflation-ridden country. Says one Chilean university economist: "In an underdeveloped country like Chile it is less possible to have a free-market economy than it is in a developed one. It is a question of size and scale." It is also a question of history: since the 1930s the government has tightly controlled key parts of the Chilean economy. Prices and wages have traditionally been set by the government; the major industries have long been monopolies. Competition, the present Chilean government is discovering, cannot be created overnight.

The Chicago Boys give various reasons for the economy's poor performance. Finance Minister Jorge Cauas blames factors beyond the government's control: the distortions left over from the

Santiago Businessman Orlando Saenz retorts: "The price of all this credit worthiness has been overwhelming. The cut in the standard of living is the most disastrous ever experienced. In a democracy, this level of unemployment and hunger would be unacceptable, but here they can get away with it."

Despite the fearful repression, people still cautiously complain. In Conchalí, a northern district of Santiago, the families are decidedly lower middle class—taxi drivers, mechanics, seamstresses—Over the years they had hauled themselves out of poverty. Now unemployment and recession have pushed them back again. Malnutrition is spreading.

"My husband drives a cab from curfew to curfew," says one housewife. "but still he does not make enough to feed us all. In the Allende days, everybody had plenty of money, but there were few things to buy. Now there's plenty to buy, but nobody has any money."



## INVENTIONS

### No Three on a Match?

As an "ignition source"—to use the pompous term of match makers—nothing can approach the paper book match for ubiquity. Some 25 billion books, representing 500 billion lights, are distributed each year, almost always without charge to the user (through the stores, hotels and vending machine operators that buy them in bulk). Match manufacturers also make money selling advertising on the book covers. This industry has been built with no essential change in the product itself since 1911, when safer chemicals replaced the poisonous white phosphorus that had been used in the book matches patented in 1892 by Joshua Pusey. But this fall the Diamond Match division of Diamond International Corp. (1975 sales \$780 million) will begin national marketing of something new: a match that goes out by itself.

Diamond's new StopLite is coated below the tip with a fire-resistant chemical. It burns for twelve or 15 seconds—about long enough to light a cigarette on the second fumbling try—then just fizzles out, with no shaking. Officials believe it will cut down on the 10,000 match-related accidents that now occur every year, mainly among children, and also reduce the large number of fires started in hotels and motels by careless smokers. No one can count the possible saving of charred clothing and blistered fingers among the clumsy or absent-minded.

Officials of Diamond, the nation's oldest (founded in 1881) and largest match producer, were not motivated by altruism. The U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission has long pressed for safer book matches. Diamond's solution may not light everyone's metaphorical fire: the new match may prove to be inadequate for lighting birthday cakes, campfires or even pipes. But StopLite may reduce to irrelevance the old superstition about three on a match, which got started during the Boer War (a prolonged flame gave the enemy time to take aim). Lighting three cigarettes from the same StopLite would be not just unlucky but almost impossible.





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# THE ULTIMATE SIT THE ULTIMATE DRIVE

Recently a senior editor of Motor Trend magazine leveled this criticism at the three most prestigious, most expensive domestic luxury sedans: "Smooth they are, handle they don't, except in the strictest interpretation of the term."

In defense of these three luxury sedans, it should be pointed out that the basis for this harsh judgment was a bit unfair.

It erroneously presupposes that the cars were designed to "handle" in the first place, which of course they weren't.

In fact, they're merely examples of a wholly separate school of thought that may best be summarized by the phrase "opulence over everything." Cars designed primarily for sitting. And in that school they excel.

At the Bavarian Motor Works, we



The BMW 524i's multi-jointed rear axle design handles bumps and potholes with ease, even under full load.

luxury sedans.

The BMW suspension system is designed to provide the utmost driver control and road feel at all times and under all conditions.

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axle, allows each wheel to adjust itself independently to every driving and road condition. With a smoothness and a precision that will spoil you for any other car.

**AN OVERWEIGHT ENGINE HAS NO PLACE IN A HIGH-PERFORMANCE CAR.**

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sedans—has been called by the editors of Road & Track magazine "the most refined in-line six in the world." It is the same basic engine that powers the BMW race cars that have dominated international racing for the past decade.

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One drawback to designing a car primarily for sitting is that eventually it must be driven.

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And so—while it is doubtful that there is a car made stronger than a BMW—the BMW steel passenger safety cell and computer-determined, energy absorbing "crush zones" are innovative safety features to say the least—we propose that even more significant are those extraordinary handling characteristics that provide the BMW driver with the means and the split second control to help avoid an accident as well as survive one.

**INSIDE, THE SANITY OF FUNCTION.**

Inside the BMW 530i, where con-



0-60 mph, 5.9 seconds. High-speed passing acceleration, 1.6 seconds. Based on Motor Trend magazine.

have a different approach to building luxury sedans.

It is our contention that, when all is said and done, the only thing that makes an expensive car worth the money is extraordinary performance. Cars made primarily for driving. And in that school we excel.

**YOU DRIVE A BMW. IT DOES NOT DRIVE YOU.**

An automobile writer once described driving a rather well-known domestic luxury sedan as "...the ultimate act of motoring passivity."

And this point is quite central to the difference between a BMW and the majority of the world's

they reach their pinnacle under the hood of the BMW 530i.

Its 3-liter engine—diminutive when compared to the 500 cubic inch monsters found in domestic luxury



Based on Motor Trend magazine. High-speed passing acceleration, 1.6 seconds. Based on Motor Trend magazine.

# TING MACHINE VS. RIVING MACHINE.



ventional luxury sedans reach their frivolous peak, the engineers at the Bavarian Motor Works have achieved



what the editors of Motor Trend magazine describe as "a study in ergonomic excellence."

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Intelligent restraint? Yes.

Yet no less a connoisseur of opulent motorcars than the automotive writer for Town & Country magazine was quoted after having driven a BMW as saying, "I came away with new parameters to measure other cars by."

For many serious drivers in all parts of the world, BMW has redefined the meaning of the word "luxury" to encompass more than a thin veneer of leather and chrome.

If you'd care to judge for yourself, we suggest you phone your BMW dealer and arrange a thorough test drive.



**The ultimate driving machine.**  
Bavarian Motor Works, Munich, Germany



O'CONNOR & VINCENT IN *BABY*

## Homeward Bound

**BABY BLUE MARINE**

Directed by JOHN HANCOCK

Screenplay by STANFORD WHITMORE

Marion Hedgepeth (Jan-Michael Vincent) wants to be a Marine. His ambition recalls that old joke: he wants to be a Marine in the worst way. The harder he tries, the clumsier he becomes, until the Marines give up. He washes

out of boot camp as a "baby blue." His uniform is taken away and he and his fellows-in-disgrace are sent on their way in powder-blue fatigues.

It means a lot for Marion to be a Marine. His father was in the corps, and his uniform still fits. The time is 1943, and a young man's honor is at stake. Waiting for an eastbound bus, Marion buys a drink for a full-fledged Marine Raider, who wears a skull-and-crossbones patch on his sleeve and stares fixedly ahead, as if trying to make out messages on the liquor bottles. Marion listens to the Marine's reminiscences of battle, envies all his medals. The Raider is of a rather different frame of mind. He gets Marion drunk, clobbers him and steals the baby blue outfit, leaving his own uniform behind. At last Marion gets the chance to act like a real Marine.

*Baby Blue Marine*, sentimental and good-natured, concerns Marion's discovery that manhood is not something that comes along with rank and wardrobe. Working his way home from California to St. Louis, Marion gets as far as a small Western town named Bidwell. He falls for a young waitress (Glynis O'Connor) and lets himself become Bidwell's major curiosity, accepting the honor and privileges due a Marine

who has seen extensive combat duty.

It is a little difficult to determine what Director John Hancock (*Bang the Drum Slowly*) and Scenarist Stanford Whitmore had on their minds here. Hancock re-creates some lovely home-front ambience and gets winning performances from Vincent and O'Connor. Still, to give the movie some resolution, it is necessary to bring on a trio of Japanese youths who have run away from an internment camp. Their appearance triggers the film's one action sequence. Marion and most of Bidwell's male population beat the woods and brave the rapids in search of the three boys—a slapdash man hunt and a suitably awkward ending for this gangling, occasionally affecting little movie.

**Joy Cocks**

## Some Sweet Notes

**SPARKLE**

Directed by SAM O'STEEN

Screenplay by JOEL SCHUMACHER

Imagine a rock-'n'-roll act starting out in the late 1950s, a group starring three sisters, slightly reminiscent of the Supremes. That is the notion behind *Sparkle*, a casually enjoyable excursion into the predictable heartbreak and un-

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On the other hand, urban freeways facilitate fast, safe, comfortable movement around town—door to door—for service vehicles, emergency vehicles, delivery trucks, taxis, and automobiles. And buses. They promote more use of inner-city facilities: theaters, cathedrals, museums, art galleries, concert halls, stores, stadiums. And freeways let urban dwellers reach suburban jobs—conveniently, quickly—and outlying zoos, parks, golf courses. Freeway proponents say the benefits outweigh the drawbacks.

Which way should we go?

First, let's recognize that no one mode will solve all a city's needs. We can't ignore public transportation for those who need it: the old, young, handicapped, poor. The auto-less. Those who prefer it. In some places mass transit means subways or elevated trains—in most, it means buses running on city streets and freeways.

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**"Freeways are a city's life line."**





CARA & THOMAS IN *SPARKLE*  
Unlikely triumphs.

likely triumphs of show biz. Sister (Irene Cara) is the eldest, beautiful with a fatal instinct for the wrong kind of man. Dolores (Dwain Smith) is vaguely uneasy about everything, whether it is performing or walking down the Harlem streets. Sparkle, the youngest (Irene Cara), is the most innocent and perhaps the most talented. Under the tutelage of a good fellow named Stix (Philip M. Thomas), who also loves her, Sparkle works her way from a hit

#### CINEMA

record to a solo spot at Carnegie Hall.

It is all pretty silly, but, against the odds, *Sparkle* is often pleasant and even funny. This is no small achievement, given the generally barbaric level of the script. Sam O'Steen, a talented film editor (*Catch-22*, *Chinatown*) directing his first feature, has photographed much of the film in close, with the light kept low. The intimate style is effective, and it helps somewhat to disguise budgetary limitations. *Sparkle* was made for lunch money, and it shows. What shows more prominently, though, is the distinctive charm of Actors Thomas, Cara and McKee, and the promise of a new director who managed things better than could realistically have been expected. J.C.

#### Hardly Classical

MAHLER

Directed and Written by KEN RUSSELL

By this time, Ken Russell should have got sick of being told he has gone too far. But on he goes, each new movie an exercise in further excess. *Mahler*—which appeared in England two years ago but is only now being released in the U.S.—is a discombobulated, flutulent film that bears only a glancing resemblance to the life of the post-Romantic composer.

Russell made his initial reputation as a director with a series of subdued, en-

terprising biographical films for the BBC. *Song of Summer*, a life of Frederick Delius, is still one of the best and most subtle things he has done. With 1970's feature *The Music Lovers*, a parboiled melodrama about Tchaikovsky, it became clear that Russell was not interested in the fine details of fact. He is not much interested in narrative structure either, or intellectual or emotional consistency. What interests Russell most is turmoil, and where there are not sufficient amounts available in his subject's life, he will supply his own. So in *Mahler* the composer (Robert Powell) inagines himself in the midst of a pop fantasy involving Cosima Wagner, Nazis, Crosses, Jewish stars and a crimson seasaw, this is Russell's representation of Mahler's conversion from Judaism to Catholicism. The scene—like much of the movie—means to be shocking but succeeds only in being a little naughty. *Mahler* is overripe, hyperbolic, hysterical, without any of the wit of last year's *Tommy* or the full-tilt craziness of *The Devils* (1971). There are stunning flashes of beauty (*Mahler*, as a boy, seeing a white horse in a midnight forest) and true terror (the composer dreaming himself locked in a coffin en route to his own cremation). Such scenes are signs of genuine talent. The pity is that Russell so easily disconnects from his talent and works instead out of some dim spirit of orgiastic foolishness. J.C.



## The New Fellini: Venice on Ice

"I have made a movie as if in flight," says Master Film Maker Federico Fellini, "as if it were a sickness to be got through." Few pictures have been as eagerly awaited as Fellini's *Casanova*, the director's most recent bout with "sickness," which has lasted nine months, and appeared for a while to be terminal. Now scheduled for pre-Christmas release in the U.S., *Casanova* managed to survive the theft of two reels of early footage, almost identical alternate work prints were substituted. Then last December Producer Alberto Grimaldi canceled *Casanova* in mid-filming, blaming Fellini's extravagance: \$7 million had already been spent, roughly two-thirds of the picture shot. Fellini sued and a Roman judge found that the director had not been spendthrift. Production resumed, and last week TIME Correspondent Leo Janos visited the set outside Rome. His report:

*Casanova* is Fellini's most ambitious film in years and his first English-language picture. It is also evidently a chilling, worldly departure from *Amarcord*, last year's lyrical reminiscence that won Fellini his fourth Academy Award. The new movie is peopled by many of the androgynous grotesques that crowded his fantasy *Satyricon* (1969). Fellini, 56, has ensured his film a stormy reception in Italy by comparing the 18th-century rake-protagonist to the typical modern Italian. "He is all shop front, a public figure striking attitudes—in short, a braggart Fascist!"

The real *Casanova*—played in the movie by Donald Sutherland—was an intellectual, a gambler and a great Venetian libertine, who seduced and abandoned ladies by the hundreds in his travels across Europe. His *Memoirs* are usually considered to rank among the classic 18th-century autobiographies. Fellini disagrees. He professes to have ripped the pages with rage as he read them. "Unfortunately, I had already signed to do the film," he says. "No nature, animals, children, trees. The *stronzo* (turd) roamed the whole of Europe and it is as if he never moved from bed."

**Shooting Days.** Whatever his misgivings, the director has lavished on *Casanova* extravagant care even by his own high standards. At a cost of \$10 million, Fellini has given full vent to his surreal, picturesque vision of *Casanova*; he has used 500 extras, commissioned 54 sets by volatile, brilliant Designer Danilo Donati, as well as 3,000 costumes and 400 wigs. Nearly 150 shooting days have been spent on the sound stages and back lots of Rome's Cinecittà studio.

During the final days of filming, Fellini hunched against a Mitchell camera, chewing on the ball of his fist as if it

were an apple core. He was watching two young actresses rehearse a scene that was not going well. In Italy, the sound track of a film is dubbed in later, so Fellini can direct like a latter-day D.W. Griffith, instructing as the camera rolls. "Move toward me, Olympia. Pause. Take a deep breath. Look down at your hands. *Brava!*" Actress Olympia Carlisi is not acting to the camera, but to her director, her Svengali.

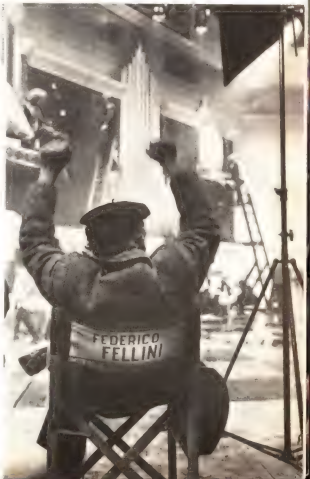
**Painted Rats.** Later, on another set, the director swung aloft on a crane over an indoor water tank to film an enormous caged seraglio at the edge of a Venice canal. "*Motore!*" he shouted, and the cameras rolled. The harem was wild with excitement as *Casanova's* gondola glided past. Fellini exhorted the girls chosen for the scene to climb their cage like monkeys to get a better view. "Higher, Fernanda!" he roared through a megaphone. "Climb higher and hang those lovely boobs of yours through the bars." The girl followed instructions, hung on precariously and was rewarded by a blown kiss from "the maestro," as he is known to his adoring veteran crew. Fellini is a masterly politician, roaming the crowded sound stage to flirt shamelessly with the women and backslap the men. Says he: "I am the captain of a glorious ocean liner. My crew and I work together to make a big joke of the crossing."

But Fellini's penchant for detail is no laughing matter. Filming a Venice canal sequence in an outdoor tank, the maestro ordered 200 rats into the water. "Stop!" he shouted after noticing that half the rats were white. "Paint them brown." His hard-pressed casting staff is often given a sketch of a type of face he wants and ordered off to the back alleys of Rome in search of their prey. For Fellini, the right face is everything. "I chose Sutherland because he is completely alien to the conventional idea of *Casanova*—the dark-eyed Italian, magnetic, raven locks, dark skin, the classic Latin lover. He reflects my thinking about *Casanova's* of estrangement."

Sutherland's metamorphosis into *Casanova* begins each day with 3½ hours of makeup application, which supplies him with a Romanesque nose and jutting jaw (Fellini has filmed him almost entirely in profile). These details resemble those in portraits of the real



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## SHOW BUSINESS



**DIRECTOR FEDERICO FELLINI**  
*Take a deep breath.*

man. But as usual, Fellini goes further. Sutherland's scalp has been shaved clean for three inches up from the hairline and his eyes lined into a definite slant. The result is a highly stylized, almost Kabuki look that conforms amazingly to a sketch of Casanova drawn by Fellini—who was once a cartoonist—months before he met Sutherland. "Fellini choreographs every move I make," says Sutherland, who had arrived in Rome with Casanova's twelve-volume *Memoirs*. "Don't read any more," ordered the director. "I will tell you all you need to know."

At first, Sutherland bridled at being treated like a puppet. "But why resist?" he concluded. "The man's a genius." Says Fellini: "I don't have problems with actors—they have problems with me. 'Donaldino' has done very well."

**Skitter Bed.** Tacked to Sutherland's dressing-room wall is another Fellini cartoon showing the director and his star running for their lives, pointing the finger of blame at each other, while from the clouds, a furious Casanova is brandishing a sword and screaming at them: "Bastards!"

Indeed the film is shorn of any sense of reality, historical or otherwise. Though it is hard to draw many conclusions about a movie that is not yet edited, *Casanova* will hardly be a picture to recommend to students interested in 18th century Venice. Fellini likes to present psychic rather than objective reality. He uses any material—literary, political, personal—and bends it to his will, makes it part of his powerful fantasies. One cannot imagine his boasting that *Casanova* is a meticulous biographical creation. On the contrary, he says: "There is no historical slant, no ideology. There is nothing but shapes in a landscape, drawn with a bit of perspective but so representative as to be positively freezing, hypnotic." Perhaps. But the film does heat up to record what may turn out to be some of the wildest



sex scenes ever filmed. Casanova and a challenger engaging in a copulatory contest, sharing two whores each in a bed that crashes and skitters right out of the room; Casanova making love to a mechanical doll whose head spins wildly at the climactic moment; the rake's encounter with a worldly nun who is expert in 39 sexual positions.

Last week Venice glowed eerily under the chill night sky over Cinecittà studios as Fellini filmed the movie's final scene. On a set as large as a football field (cost, \$500,000), the city lay frozen—its Grand Canal solid ice (constructed from sheets of white plastic), the Rialto Bridge sagging under layers of snow. The scene represents the dying Casanova's final thoughts about the city of his youth. On signal from the director ("Go, Donald"), Casanova moves slowly across the ice, his black cloak fanned open by the night wind. He pauses, kneels down on the ice, his beaked nose like that of a bird of prey.

Suddenly the mechanical doll (Italian Ballerina Leda Lojodice) materializes before him, and the two dance across the ice in a final pirouette to the game of life. Watching the scene unfold, Fellini's assistant director, Gerald Morin, smiled softly. "So this is what Fellini thinks it all comes down to—a vacuous man dancing with a mechanical doll. Only a middle-aged man growing cynical could make such a statement. How sad. How honest."

### The Eternal Return

If the Manhattan theatergoers who are flinging themselves with glad abandon upon the recent hit revivals of *My Fair Lady* and *Threepenny Opera* think they are seeing the rebirth of the nation's longest-running musicals, they are wrong. The record is held by an unprepossessing little Off-Broadway show called *The Fantasticks*, and it does not need to be reborn for the simple reason that it never died.

Last week *The Fantasticks*, a winsome fantasy by Tom Jones with music by Harvey Schmidt, celebrated its 16th birthday with the usual flurry of statistics: 6,668 performances have grossed \$4.2 million, with a return of \$1.5 million on a \$16,500 investment. Meanwhile the 140 actors who have performed in the musical's eight roles have worn out some 420 costumes and 350 pairs of shoes. The Sullivan Street Playhouse, the show's home for all these years, has gone through two sets of seats and had to have the stage floor replaced three times.

Who could have recognized, back in May of 1960, such a hardly long-distance runner? Certainly not the critics. Walter Kerr, writing in the now defunct *New York Herald Tribune*, thought the show "a little less than satisfactory," and the *Times's* Brooks Atkinson found it "the sort of thing that loses magic the longer it endures."



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## THE PRESS

### Alaska Gold

Katherine Fanning's Anchorage *Daily News* has a circulation of 15,500, a staff of 20 (including the receptionist) and an editor-publisher who, until her husband died in 1971 and left her in command, could have rated herself as little more than a cub reporter. The morning daily does not have its own presses, rarely runs more than 20 pages an issue and has long been overshadowed by its afternoon competitor, the *Times* (circ. 45,000). Yet last week Fanning's tiny paper edged out some of the nation's leading dailies to win journalism's most esteemed award, the Pulitzer gold medal for public service.

The *Daily News* won its medal for a 15-part expose of the rise to wealth and power of Alaska Teamsters Union Local 959. In 18 years, the paper discovered, the local grew from an undistinguished 1,500-member unit to an aggressive organization some 23,000 strong, with tentacles reaching into every aspect of Alaska's economy. Rewarded for their solidarity with high wages and a blizzard of benefits, Local 959's members include workers on the Alaska pipeline, policemen, hospital employees, bakers, stevedores, lab technicians and clerical workers—or one out of every ten working Alaskans.

Fanning and Executive Editor Stan Abbott launched the series when they began to suspect that the chief local beneficiary of the pipeline boom was the Teamsters. Three newsmen—Howard Weaver, Bob Porterfield and Jim Babb—were assigned full time, leaving only

PUBLISHER FANNING & REPORTER JIM BABB



five reporters to cover the rest of the news. In the next three months, the trio accumulated files on 600 individuals and 250 union-related corporations.

The reporters did not find evidence of widespread corruption, nor did their series lead to indictments or inspire government investigations. "But we uncovered a dark and murky area," says Fanning. "There is an aura of brute strength in the Teamster leaders that tends to inspire fear. By making the borders of Teamster power more visible, we made it easier to contain."

The Pulitzer gold medal is something of a personal vindication for Fanning, who has constantly advocated investigative reporting by her staff. The daughter of a Joliet, Ill., banker, she came to Alaska with her three children in 1965 after divorcing Marshall Field IV, owner of the Chicago *Daily News* and *Sun-Times*. In 1966 she married Lawrence Fanning, a Field editor, but instead of settling in Chicago they stayed in Anchorage and bought the *Daily News* for \$450,000. Under Kay Fanning's guidance, the paper has been fighting to reverse a long circulation slide and last year signed a money-saving joint printing, advertising and circulation agreement with the *Times*.

Unchanged, however, is the paper's willingness to assume unpopular editorial positions: it champions gun control (anathema in Alaska) and stricter environmental protection laws. The *Daily News* generally supports Democrats and endorsed George McGovern for President in 1972. But Fanning does not let the paper's politics get in the way of its Pulitzer-caliber journalism: her reporters presently are investigating fund-raising practices by state Democrats.

### Psyched Out

Every month, *Psychology Today* (circ. 1.1 million) tells Americans all they might want to know about sex, psychosurgery, bio-feedback, insomnia, ultradian rhythms—indeed the whole galaxy of behavioral phenomena, from alienation to Zen. The magazine's success is due largely to its editor in chief and resident visionary since 1969, T (for nothing) George Harris. He turned a jargon-pocked and profitless publication into a *Popular Mechanics* of human behavior—eminently readable, visually stimulating and worth more than \$2 million a year in net profit for its present owner, Ziff-Davis Publishing Co., which bought the magazine in 1973.

Last week Ziff-Davis confirmed that Harris has been fired. Neither side would talk openly about the psychic trauma, but Harris' problem seemed to be one of style rather than substance. A former *TIME* writer and bureau chief and *Look* senior editor, Kentucky-born,



CASHIERED EDITOR T. GEORGE HARRIS  
The end of the ultimate sweatshop.

Yale-educated Harris, 51, was hired by Publisher Nicholas Charney in 1968 to edit the short-lived *Careers Today*, and soon took over the ailing *Psychology Today*. Harris stayed on as editor when the magazine was sold to Boise Cascade in 1969, when it was later sold to Ziff-Davis, and even when it was moved last year from sunny Del Mar, Calif., where its beachside editorial conferences were renowned, to Manhattan.

**Ping-Pong Table.** The magazine traveled well (circulation is up 10% since the move, advertising pages up 35% so far this year), but Harris' free-wheeling flamboyance did not. Ziff-Davis, the nation's fifth largest magazine publisher (*Modern Bride*, *Popular Photography*), is owned by Chairman William Ziff, 46, and run by a button-down battalion of 26 vice presidents. They winced when Harris risked offending liquor advertisers by publishing a tough cover story on drinking; they were displeased when he installed a Ping-Pong table at the editorial offices (Harris paid for it himself), and they were confounded by the unregimented atmosphere he relished. "We have created the ultimate sweatshop, one where we have eliminated the difference between work and play," Harris liked to say. (Stormed Ziff when he first heard this: "Exploitative nonsense. Work is work.")

Determined to operate on its own disciplined terms, Ziff-Davis offered Harris a raise, a car and a kick upstairs to the job of associate publisher—and fired him when he refused to ascend. He is being replaced as editor by Wesley First, a Ziff-Davis vice president. Says Harris, who has no immediate plans: "The vice presidents couldn't tolerate an editor who was unmanageable. We have a different set of values."

## Happy Is Bad, but Heavy Isn't Good

Out there in local television land, the past two years have seen a proliferation of "happy talk news" shows that are a demeaning parody of news coverage. In studios that look like mod courtrooms, people of aggressive charm bounce one-liners off each other in ways that trivialize the news and diminish the raw impact of the filmed dead on a Beirut street. This is news as spectator sport. Confident young women or quippy males in tweed jackets review plays, films and concerts they are ill-equipped to judge. Jostling between anchor man and weatherman makes it hard to remember tomorrow's forecast. The fear of boring the viewer makes the discussion of city budgets and school boards incomprehensible—as they may well have been to the "reporter" himself.

"One of the frightening things that is happening in local TV news is that it's becoming successful," says William Leonard, a veteran television newsmen who is now CBS vice president in Washington. As he told a group of Nieman Fellows at Harvard recently, local TV news used to be "provided grudgingly so you wouldn't lose your license." But the amount of news has lately been increased substantially because news shows now often provide half of a station's revenue. The resulting rivalry for ratings and hours reminds Leonard of the shoddy newspaper-circulation wars earlier in the century. Says he: "The stakes are high enough that there is grave danger of journalistic considerations going right out of the window."

The good news is that the happy-talk news fad is waning; many stations are cutting back on their corn. "It's only a style, and styles go out of style," says Sam Zelman, whose ABC station in Washington has recently hired a respected network reporter, David Schoumacher, as anchor man. But the bad news is that some stations have replaced happy talk with unhappy talk, tabloid-style, producing a constant trafficking in emotions, like closeups of people in pain being lifted into ambulances. This night-distorted accumulation of police-bait misfortunes makes any city look like a disaster area. Items are tailored to the attention threshold of the least patient viewer. That is what happens when entertainment values outweigh news judgment.

Will entertainment values also prevail in network news when Barbara Walters takes her anchor spot on ABC in the fall? Not necessarily. Walters has shown herself a strong, no-nonsense interviewer. At NBC she had the clout to summon the powerful, and the assurance not to be overawed by them, such a role would suit her better than merely

reading the news. Moreover, on all three networks, news is viewed with real responsibility. The big three among network anchor men—Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor and Harry Reasoner—scorn show-biz gimmickry. At most, these personally cheerful fellows can be accused of cultivating those reassuring mannerisms of gravity and neutrality that make them trusted. The news snippets they read are as soberly chosen as they would be on the New York Times.

Many in television are ex-newspapermen and, being aware that an entire half-hour newscast would not fill even one newspaper page, are apologetic for the superficiality and skimpiness of what they do. They hope to see network news shows extended to a full hour. Perhaps they should relax a little: in four minutes a night, they are not going to make anyone knowledgeable in Keynesian economics. All forms of journalism have their own point of satiety. Richard Salt, president of CBS News, says that Cronkite "has often said, but never meant" that he longs to end a broadcast by saying, "For further details, read your morning newspaper." Why shouldn't Cronkite mean it? For, of course, no one can hope to be well-informed from television news alone, even if many millions in this democracy try to be.

Television people often describe their news, defensively, as a supplement to print. It is more than that, and print purists who feel no need to watch television news regularly are victims of complacent ignorance. They may complain that television's brief glimpses of public figures emphasize personality over substance, which is true; yet, particularly in moments of stress, character does come through on-screen. By simply reading about Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan or John Connally, would anyone have the vivid sense of these men that so many Americans now have? This is what television news does best. The question is whether it should try to do more: whether a medium that must first satisfy the restless eye is best suited to serving the reasoning mind. Can the camera—that talks ever hope to be as thorough in putting across ideas and issues as the printed word, which the undistracted mind can concentrate on? Each to his own best role.



**Born.** To Victoria Fyodorova Pouy, 30, Soviet actress who came to the U.S. (TIME, Feb. 10, 1975) to see for the first time her ailing natural father, retired Rear Admiral Jackson R. Tate, a Moscow-based naval attaché during World War II, and Frederick Pouy, 38, Pan American World Airways pilot their first child, a son, in Greenwich, Conn.

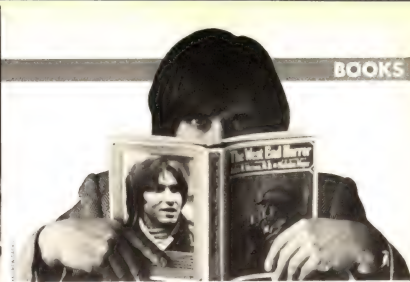
**Married.** Hiroo Onoda, 54, the Japanese Imperial Army lieutenant who continued to wage World War II as a lonely guerrilla in the jungles of the Philippines until 1974, and Machie Onoki, 38, a tea ceremony instructor whom Onoda met in a Tokyo restaurant, in São Paulo, Brazil, not far from the ranch that Onoda now runs.

**Died.** Jerome Snyder, 60, self-taught illustrator, designer and gourmet, of a heart attack after playing his customary Sunday touch-football game in Central Park, in Manhattan. Snyder became in 1954 the first art director of *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*, then held the same post at *Scientific American* from 1962 to 1970. Meanwhile, he collaborated on a popular guide to good cheap restaurants, *The Underground Gourmet*, and on a dining-out column for *New York* magazine.

**Died.** Ernest A. (Ernie) Nevers, 72, thundering Hall of Fame fullback at Stanford, an early star for the Duluth Eskimos (1926-27) and Chicago Cardinals (1929-31) and holder of the all-time single-game scoring record for professional football (40 points); of kidney disease, in San Rafael, Calif. Nevers also pitched professionally for the St. Louis Browns from 1926 to 1928. His coach at Stanford, Glenn ("Pop") Warner, once compared him to the legendary Jim Thorpe by saying, "Nevers could do anything Thorpe could do, and Ernie always tried harder."

**Died.** Alfred Bennett Harbage, 74, emeritus professor of English at Harvard and perhaps the nation's foremost Shakespearean scholar, of a heart attack, in Philadelphia. Editor of the Pelican edition of Shakespeare's works and author of such studies as *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* and *As They Liked It: An Essay on Shakespeare and Morality*. Harbage was scornful of all theorists who argued that *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* might actually have been written by Sir Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe or any other pseudonymous poet.

**Died.** Jim Robinson, 86, primordial, gutsy jazz trombonist who recorded more than 100 albums, many of them with Trumpeter Bunk Johnson, starting and finishing his career on Bourbon Street, of cancer, in New Orleans.



PETER BENCHLEY (LEFT): CONTEMPLATING SUCCESS, NICHOLAS MEYER CONFRONTING THE PUBLIC

## Fish and Foul Play

THE DEEP

by PETER BENCHLEY  
301 pages. Doubleday, \$7.95.

THE WEST END HORROR

by NICHOLAS MEYER  
222 pages. Dutton, \$7.95.

Outlandishly successful pop novelists rarely take the money and run. Against all the nudgings of reason, they insist on plunging once more. The critical risk is great, of course—reviewers and remaindered colleagues are poised to carp. Yet the built-in publicity is there waiting for them, and with it, perhaps, the long-suffering reader.

This year the book trade's hot-stove league has thrived with several questions: Can Peter Benchley snatch defeat from the jaws of victory? Will Nicholas Meyer's new Holmesian spoofery match *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution*? Answers are now available, and they seem to be no and yes.

If Benchley was aiming at the same primitive cortex he stumbled over in *Jaws*, he missed it. Yet *The Deep* is a better book—more cleverly plotted, less awkward when it ventures on dry land. David and Gail Sanders spend their honeymoon diving for curiosities off the coast of Bermuda and scuba right into trouble. They uncover a vast cache of morphine and opium—medical supplies lost when an Army cargo vessel went down in 1943. A black mobster on the island gets wind of their find and threatens the couple with death—and worse—unless they help him get nefarious hands on the dope. The Sanderses enlist the aid of Trecce, a huge Mahican

Indian, to help them salvage the booty and thwart the Mob. But while they are feverishly scooping up drug ampules, they discover greater treasure: a chest of priceless jewelry once intended for the mistress of King Philip V of Spain.

Benchley doles out this tale in the standard measures of escapist fiction: ever-escalating shocks at predictable intervals. Early on, the effect can be ludicrous. Will David get stuck in an elevator? Will his wife accidentally drink a glass of hydrochloric acid? What is the meaning of her mysterious nosebleed? Later the blood flows everywhere and the sea is awash with gore. "The moray-struck, needle teeth fastening on the man's neck, throat convulsing as it pulled back toward the hole. Blood billowed out of the sides of the moray's mouth." That moray eel, which figures in the book's penultimate scene, is unlikely to start a craze or appear on T-shirts. As for *The Deep*, it is a competent pulp adventure jazzed up for jaded boys and girls.

**Murdered Critic.** Nicholas Meyer's first literary "discovery"—an unpublished memoir by Sherlock Holmes' sidekick Dr. Watson—pleased almost everyone. *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* happily accounted for Holmes' whereabouts after he was supposedly drowned in the Reichenbach Falls. He was, of course, breaking his cocaine habit under the tutelage of Sigmund Freud. The pairing of these two clue masters on one case lent Meyer's pastiche a glittering patina of ought-to-have-been. Alas, Meyer has "found" yet another of Watson's tales, and it should not have happened to anyone.

*The West End Horror* seems promising at first. The time is 1895, and a theater critic is found murdered in his London flat. George Bernard Shaw, himself an irascible, impecunious critic, interests Holmes in the mystery. Which of the critic's legion of enemies did it? To find out, Holmes must troop past a parade of London theatrical and literary figures: Oscar Wilde, Gilbert and Sullivan, Ellen Terry, Henry Irving, Frank Harris,

Bram Stoker. They make their entrances and exits like targets in a shooting gallery. Meyer may do a pretty good Watson, but he is no match for Wilde.

No amount of huffing about a "crime so monstrous that it threatened to blot the nineteenth century and alter the course of history" can disguise Meyer's evident lack of interest in the whole affair. So he, too, falls back on shock. When the killer is discovered, he is suffering from a particularly loathsome disease. The description of his labored confession is a nasty little piece of sadism.

Curiosity and notoriety being what they are, copies of both *The Deep* and *The West End Horror* may well litter many a beach this summer. Such success will no doubt convince publishers that when it comes to graphic bloodshed and cruelty, the public is insatiable. And perhaps this is true. Even now, a scrivener somewhere may be calculating, "Suppose when Holmes fell into that waterfall, he bumped into a man-eating sturgeon..."

Paul Gray

## Notable

HEARING SECRET HARMONIES

by ANTHONY POWELL  
272 pages. Little, Brown, \$7.95.

Latecomers probably should not be admitted during this finale to Anthony Powell's twelve-volume *A Dance to the Music of Time*. Or should go back to where it all began with *A Question of Upbringing* in 1951. For Powell is here concerned with staging effects for the subscription crowd—the touching up of time-expired sets, reshaping of derelict props, updating of old reprints.

The time is the tumultuous 1960s. Favorites from earlier volumes—Dicky Umfraville, Jean Duport, Flavia Wisebite—totter back to take bows with Powell's tirelessly ruminative narrator, Nick Jenkins. A catharsis of sorts is achieved when Kenneth Widmerpool, the dogged, faintly ridiculous overachiever who looms as Powell's most memorable creation, gets a grisly comeuppance. Wid-

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By CELIA WALLACE

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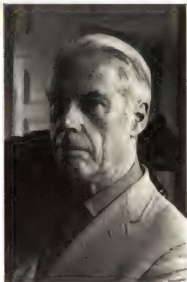
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**DUODECOLOGIST ANTHONY POWELL**  
*The curve of a false smile.*

merpool renounces his peerage to cavort with a satanic cult called Harmony. But he is literally run into the ground by the cult's leader—a young, spiritual storm trooper named Scorpio Murllock.

With utmost precision, Powell measures the decline of a society in the curve of a false smile or the adulterous squeak of a bedspring. He is a writer who should be read in bulk, however. Dipped into at random, any one of these books can seem bland at best. But several together reveal rich patterns in the caperings and transformations, the pairings and partings, the exits and reappearances of Powell's more than 300 characters. Later installments take on the throb of a long hangover, pierced occasionally by icy glimpses of mortality. Taken as a whole, *A Dance to the Music of Time* may well live up to Powell's own description of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*—"a kind of tapestry of the good and evil, the ingenuity and the hypocrisy; the eccentricity, the melancholy, and the greatness of the English race."

**WORLD OF WONDERERS**

by ROBERTSON DAVIES

358 pages, Viking, \$8.95.

Rich in stage magic and other illusions, *World of Wonderers* admirably winds up a trilogy that began in 1970 with *Fifth Business*, and continued with *The Manticore* in 1972. The narrative circles back to a point decades ago in an Ontario hamlet called Deptford, when one boy threw a stone-weighted snowball at another, who ducked. The snowball struck the pregnant wife of the town's Baptist minister. She gave birth to a premature infant, then lapsed into insanity.

Boy Staunton, the thrower, arrogantly refused to accept responsibility, but in a town of Deptford's rectitude, his guilt was publicly presumed. The boy who ducked, Dunston Ramsay, had a sense of private blame and carried it with him through life, as recounted in



**TRILOGIST ROBERTSON DAVIES**  
*The course of a deadly snowball.*

*Fifth Business*. Staunton remained arrogant and became rich, but at the age of 70 was found in his convertible at the bottom of Toronto harbor with a stone in his mouth. It was (and here Author Davies could be seen peeking from the wings, grinning at the reader's astonishment) the very stone he had thrown 60 years before.

The question of who killed Boy Staunton was rung out in *The Manticore*, which took Staunton's alcoholic son through psychoanalysis. Now, in *World of Wonderers*, a magician named Magnus Eisengrim appears, claiming he did it. Eisengrim is revealed (the author's opera cape swishes through empty air) to have been the premature child born on that fateful night in Deptford.

Davies is not only Canada's finest active novelist but also one of the most gifted and accomplished literary entertainers now writing in English. He tells his apparently outrageous story wryly and wisely, by seedily leading his central characters from a Canadian carnival to the London stage, and then to a tumultuous mating with a monstrously ugly Swiss sphinx named Leisl Vitzpützli. The people are brilliant talkers, but when they natter on too long, the highly theatrical author causes a grotesque face to appear at a window, drops someone through a trap door or stages a preposterous recognition scene. A master illusionist himself, Davies well deserves a packed house when—on a bare stage, out of nowhere, in a puff of smoke—he materializes with his next book.

**NIGHTMARE: THE UNDERSIDE OF THE NIXON YEARS**

by J. ANTHONY LUKAS

626 pages, Viking, \$15.

Powerlessness corrupts. In 1970 President Richard Nixon felt beleaguered by the Democrats, the kids on campus who were raising hell over his invasion of Cambodia, and by Wash-

**BOOKS**

ington bureaucrats, many of them still Kennedy-era holdovers who leaked presidential secrets to Nixon's "enemies" in the press. It was back then, midway through his first term, according to Pulitzer-prizewinning Journalist J. Anthony Lukas, that Nixon set out to totally demolish his various tormentors. The result was the pageant of bug-gings, break-ins, dirty tricks and dirty money that led to Watergate and has now preoccupied the U.S. public for so long.

That much-worked-over ground is Lukas' subject matter. He gathers his moss only from the underside of Nixon's career. He does not praise the President's foreign policy or celebrate his kindness to children and dogs. On the other hand, he also scrupulously avoids the kind of titillating invasion of privacy—the tears, the booze, the beating of fists on the carpet—that Woodward and Bernstein trade on in *The Final Days* (TIME, March 29). The result is a massive, careful encyclopedia that sorts out all existing Nixon-era evidence—the tapes, hearings, Justice Department documents, civil-suit depositions, newspaper and magazine accounts—and puts them in order for the final judgment of a dispassionate reader, or of history itself. The Lukas index, alone runs to 45 pages. In short, the one book to have if you're having only one.

**THE LAST EUROPEAN WAR SEPTEMBER 1939/**

**DECEMBER 1941**

by JOHN LUKAS

562 pages, Anchor Press/Doubleday.

**THE CRUCIAL YEARS 1939-1941**

by HANSON W. BALDWIN

499 pages, Harper & Row, \$20.

These two books examine the critical early years of World War II in ways so different that they can be read in succession without serious overlap.

Hanson Baldwin, who was for 26 years military editor of the New York Times, has produced a workmanlike history ideally suited to the generation of readers that does not remember the war at all. From Chamberlain's "peace in our time" through Russia's winter war with Finland to the fall of France, the German attack on the Soviet Union and the early Japanese conquests in the Pacific, Baldwin briskly introduces the cast, recounts the action, highlights the principal dramas.

Historian-Philosopher Lukas, by contrast, offers an almost Spenglerian vision of a civilization in crisis. Crotchety and idiosyncratic, he seems to have swallowed whole libraries of original documents in completing his research, an experience that causes him to denounce "the cancerous growth of publications" as a sign of "civilization nearing its end."

His account of the "main events"—the first third of the book—is a broad but nuanced overview, richly augmented



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And, in some areas, they didn't have enough flexibility in assigning employees.

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## BOOKS

with long footnotes often gleaned from eyewitness accounts of the events. Thereafter, Lukacs concentrates on the politics and ideas of the warring peoples. His section on the ferocity of nationalistic religion is horrifying: in the summer of 1941, he reports, some 100,000 Serbian Jews and Orthodox Christians were massacred by the Catholic Croats—who were often urged on by their priests. He notices small amusing details too. Discussing the prewar Americanization of Europe, he notes that one 1940 German Luftwaffe ace named his Messerschmitt "Mickey Mouse."

Lukacs—who was a teen-ager living in Hungary when the war began—also evokes what many have forgotten: how enthusiastically, even ecstatically, many people of Middle Europe welcomed Hitler at the time Hitler insists Lukacs, was some kind of genius, though a genius stoked almost solely by hate.

In a provocative ending, Lukacs, in disagreement with most historians, takes seriously the informal attempts by Nazi Germany to negotiate the exile of Europe's Jews to America. He suggests that only when that possibility had been closed off by U.S. entry into the war was a Gestapo plan for extermination adopted. This interpretation ignores Hitler's earlier and often stated intentions regarding the fate of the Jews. But its eccentricity does not make any less chilling Lukacs' corollary point. Only the horror of the Holocaust made anti-Semitism impossible. Feeling against the Jews was so rife that had they merely been exiled, many people in Europe might well have come to embrace the Führer's Third Reich willingly: racism and all.

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

- 1—1876, Vidal (1 last week)
- 2—Trinity, Uris (2)
- 3—The Gemini Contenders, Ludlum (3)
- 4—The B Document, Wallace (9)
- 5—A Stranger in the Mirror, Sheldon (7)
- 6—The Chairboys, Wambaugh (6)
- 7—The Boys from Brazil, Levin (4)
- 8—Kinflicks, Alther (5)
- 9—Saving the Queen, Buckley (10)
- 10—Curtain, Christie (8)

### NONFICTION

- 1—The Final Days, Woodward & Bernstein (1)
- 2—The Russians, Smith (3)
- 3—World of Our Fathers, Howe (2)
- 4—Spandau, Speer (4)
- 5—A Man Called Intrepid, Stevenson (7)
- 6—The Rockefeller, Callier & Horowitz (10)
- 7—Doris Day, Hachner (5)
- 8—A Year of Beauty and Health, B. & V. Sassoon
- 9—Scoundrel Time, Hoffman
- 10—The Adams Chronicles, Shepherd (6)

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A HUNGRY CHILD FORAGING IN STUBBLE FOR FOOD DURING THE DISASTROUS DROUGHT THAT SEARED UPPER VOLTA IN 1974

## ENVIRONMENT

### Forecast: Famine?

Central Intelligence Agency "spooks" and analysts spend much of their time trying to learn about armaments in Africa, intrigues in Asia and other possible threats to U.S. security. But now the agency is concerning itself with another potential danger: a changing climate. In a report released last week, the CIA concluded the earth has entered a period of adverse weather that is already reducing food production and causing major economic problems throughout the world. The report warns that a changing climate could cause serious upheavals as famine-stricken nations seek—if necessary at the expense of their neighbors—to assure themselves of necessary food supplies.

The CIA's forecast is largely based on studies conducted over the past several years by climatologists at the University of Wisconsin. They project that the world's climate, which for several decades had been ideal for agriculture, is returning to the conditions that existed from 1600 to 1850. That period was a "Little Ice Age" characterized by lower temperatures, shorter growing seasons and periods of famine.

**Drought-Prone.** There is ample evidence, the CIA report contends, that the new era is already under way. In the early '60s crop failures hit India and Central Asia, causing major economic and political changes. India had to import massive quantities of U.S. grain, and poor farm yields in the Soviet Union undermined the power of Premier Nikita Khrushchev and contributed to his downfall. The Soviets also suffered agricultural disasters in 1972 and 1974. The drought-prone countries of sub-Saharan Africa have not yet recovered from a recent six-year period of little or no rain. Rice shortages hit Asia in 1974, while the vital monsoon rains came late to India. In 1974, after a bumper 1973 crop, excessive rain in the spring, summer drought and early frost caused

a decline in the U.S. wheat crop.

Based on the Wisconsin studies, the CIA report concludes that a return to the conditions that prevailed during the Little Ice Age would reduce the frequency of India's monsoons and cause droughts on the subcontinent as often as every four years. This climatic change would also cause major crop failures and famine every five years in China and loss of the Soviet Union's wheat fields in Kazakhstan. Cooler temperatures could also cut crop production in Canada, as well as Northern Europe.

Some climatologists dispute whether there is, in fact, a cooling trend; they foresee instead a worldwide warming trend that could melt polar ice and raise the level of the oceans and possibly inundate coastal cities. But whatever their feelings about long-term trends, scientists generally agree that the world's climate is entering a period of more widely varying conditions that will make planning for agricultural production difficult. The experts are also worried about the impact of man-made pollution, which makes predictions based on historical weather cycles less reliable. "If humans interfere, we cannot say for sure that the climate will become worse," says Stephen Schneider, deputy head of the climate project at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colo. "But it could be different, and different is likely to be worse because it is so unpredictable."

Schneider argues that the Federal Government should reverse its present policy against stockpiling and start building up reserves of food. His concern was echoed last week by other scientists and officials who testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the impact of world environment on foreign policy. Said Russell Train, director of the Environmental Protection Agency: "The stresses generated in a hungry world will not stop at our borders. We are part of an interdependent world." Should there be major agricultural disas-

ters in the U.S., Asia and the Soviet Union, warned Stanford University Biologist Paul Ehrlich, "our problems of foreign policy will quickly be converted into problems of military policy."

### Diamonds Are Forever

Can auto-happy Californians be coaxed out of their cars? If Donald Burns' experience is any indication, the answer appears to be no. In an effort to cut down on gas consumption and air pollution, Burns, who is California's secretary of business and transportation, instituted a "disincentive" plan on March 15 aimed at frustrating Los Angeles-area motorists into leaving their cars at home. Two lanes—one in each direction—of the busy Santa Monica Freeway were marked with diamond-shaped signs and set aside for buses and cars carrying three or more people during the morning and evening rush hours. All other vehicles were kept to the slower-moving lanes. Pur-

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pose of the plan: to persuade Californians to form car pools or to use Los Angeles' regional commuter bus system.


Instead of meekly abandoning their automobiles, however, many motorists simply forsook the freeway, jamming adjacent streets, increasing average commuting times by as much as 20% and raising the accident rate by 10%. Others ignored the diamond signs and used the restricted lanes whenever patrol cars were out of sight. Students and the unemployed gathered at access ramps; they offered themselves as passengers at a dollar a head for cars with fewer than three occupants. The buses, meanwhile, ran virtually empty. Of the 90,000 free-ride tickets distributed by the Southern California Rapid Transit District to lure new riders during the first two weeks of April, only 315 were used.

Bus and car-pool usage has increased since the first chaotic day of the plan. But many Californians are convinced that the diamond-lane plan is a disaster, and several Los Angeles-area officials have attempted to repeal or modify the program. The California department of transportation seems determined to prove that the diamonds are forever. The department proudly claims that it now takes at least two minutes less to drive 12.5 miles of freeway than it did before mid-March. California motorists concede that this may be true. But they point out that it now takes longer than ever to get onto the freeway and into the lanes.

### Bad News for Polluters

After four months of deliberation, a federal grand jury last week took action in Virginia's notorious Kepone scandal, in which 70 people involved in the production of the pesticide were poisoned and the James River was polluted by the substance (TIME, Feb. 2). In what may well prove to be a landmark action, the jury indicted a chemical company, the owners of another chemical firm and the city of Hopewell, Va., on a record number of charges of violating federal antipollution laws.

Allied Chemical Corp., which developed and produced Kepone and later subcontracted its manufacture to a Hopewell firm called Life Science Products Co., was charged with 940 counts of discharging the chemical into the river. It was also charged with a single count of felonious conspiracy to circumvent Environmental Protection Agency regulations. Life Science and its two owners, Virgil Hundtofte and William Moore Jr., were charged with 153 counts of polluting the river. The town of Hopewell was named in three counts for discharging Kepone through its sewage-treatment plant and for failing to inform the EPA. If convicted on all counts, Life Science, Hundtofte and Moore could be fined some \$3.8 million, the city of Hopewell \$3.9 million and Allied Chemical \$17 million.



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